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VOLUME LXV, NUMBER 19733 MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1997 EREV SHABAT 20 ELUL 5757 20 AVAD AWWAL 1418 NIS 45 - Flat NIS 3.85

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Mubarak refuses Azzam pardon

By MICHAL YUDELMAN and news agencies

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak said yesterday he would not pardon Azzam, who was sentenced last month to 15 years in prison for spying, because of Israel's behavior in the affair and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's slur on the Egyptian legal system.

Asked about reports saying he might pardon Azzam, Mubarak said: "After all they [Israelis] have done?"

"He [Netanyahu] insulted the Egyptian judicial system," he told reporters while inaugurating a new station of the Cairo metro.

A visibly angry Mubarak added: "What am I supposed to tell the Egyptian people and justice system - one of the most just legal systems - after they have abused it? They made so many mistakes in dealing with this. There's nothing more I can do."

Earlier this month, Netanyahu said Egypt's conviction of Azzam was "distorted" and raised serious questions about the Egyptian judiciary.

Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky responded that Mubarak's remarks were "quite absurd." He said Netanyahu did his utmost not to insult the honor of the Egyptian judicial system.

"Such accusations are simply an excuse to try and turn Azzam into a hostage and blackmail Israel into making political concessions in exchange for his freedom," Sharansky said.

Azzam's family yesterday appealed to Mubarak to pardon him for humanitarian reasons.

Azzam's brother, Sammi Azzam, said "President Mubarak is a great man and we know he is capable of a gesture from the heart, if he wishes it. I appeal to him not only as a president and statesman, but also as a human being. Don't punish Azzam for something he did not do. He is a great man, and this is a small thing for him. It's in his hands now."

Sammi Azzam said that while he did not want to criticize the Israeli government, which has done a lot to try to get Azzam released, he believes more could be done.

He pointed out that if Mubarak is angry at Netanyahu or something he said, Azzam and his family cannot be held responsible.

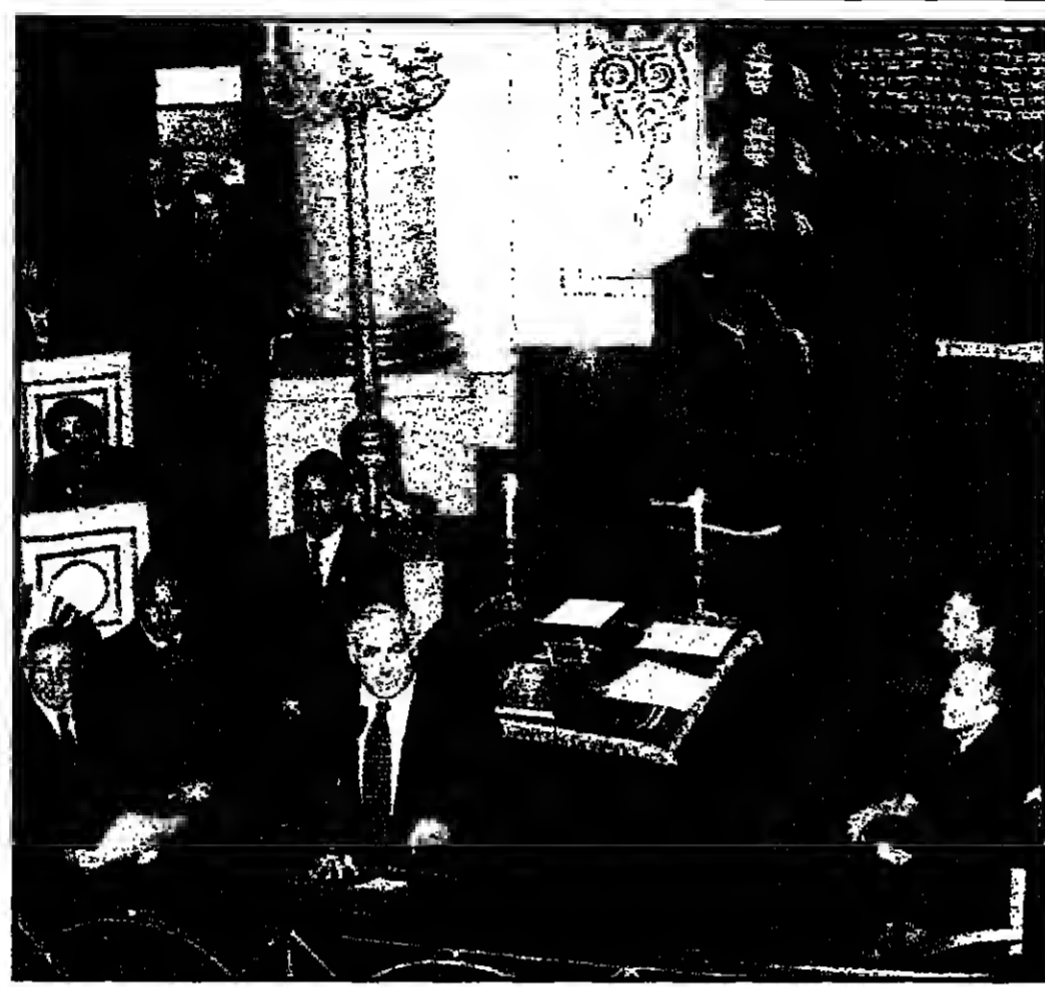
"We are not a side in the political argument between the two leaders. All we ask is that Mubarak let Azzam go on a humanitarian basis," Sammi Azzam said.

The Azzam family is trying to organize a joint Jewish-Arab-Druse delegation to Cairo to try to persuade Mubarak to release Azzam.

Marne Rochester adds:
According to Dr. Yoram Meital, a lecturer in the Department of Middle Eastern Studies at Ben-Gurion University, and an expert on Egyptian affairs, "The deep crisis in the peace process and the personal crisis of confidence between President Mubarak and Prime Minister Netanyahu had and still have a significant influence on the relations between the two states."

"I believe this atmosphere influenced both the general public opinion in Egypt and the decision makers, including President Mubarak. A pardon or an early release for Azzam means making a gesture toward the Netanyahu government, which is perceived negatively by the vast majority of Egyptians."

Meital believes that getting Azzam released will continue to be a high priority for Israel, but that these discussions should be conducted more discreetly and that Israeli officials should stop "criticizing the Egyptian courts and stop defining Azzam as a POW."



Netanyahu in Austria
Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu delivers a speech at a synagogue in Vienna yesterday, on the first day of his two-day visit to Austria. Earlier, Netanyahu and his wife Sara visited the Mauthausen concentration camp, where the premier laid a wreath and declared: "We commit before the eyes of the millions of children who were murdered that the State of Israel will live forever." Today Netanyahu is to meet Austrian President Thomas Klestil and Chancellor Viktor Klima to discuss bilateral relations and the peace process. (AP)

IDF arrests 40 Hamas activists

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH and news agencies

Security forces have arrested 40 Hamas activists in West Bank villages in a mass arrest campaign aimed at preventing attacks and learning the identities of the five suicide bombers who carried out recent attacks in the capital, the IDF said yesterday.

The arrests, which began late Saturday night, came after information was received that Islamic extremists were planning to carry out an attack within Israel north of Nablus.

The sweep was mounted under the command of OC Central Command Maj.-Gen. Uzi Dayan, as part of a wider effort to smash Hamas's infrastructure.

"Security forces last night conducted a wide-ranging operation... during which they arrested dozens of Palestinians who are now being interrogated. The operation was conducted as part of activities to deter and prevent terror," the IDF Spokesman said yesterday.

IDF soldiers of the Haruv unit of the Golani Brigade, undercover Duvdevan troops, paratroopers and border policemen clamped curfews and then raided villages near Nablus, in area B, which is

under Israeli security control. Shortly after midnight, security forces swept down on a village in the Nablus area. The troops asked Palestinian police officers to remain in their station before carrying out the raid. Then soldiers raided several houses.

The village was later placed under closure, and telephonic lines were cut, Palestinian sources said. They said that hundreds of villagers were rounded up at a local girls' school, and that 20 to 30 were taken into custody after questioning.

At dawn yesterday, IAF planes circled the village on the lookout for Palestinians attempting to flee the area.

Arrests were also made in other villages in the Nablus area. Palestinian sources claim that at least 15 men from these villages were taken.

The IDF also ordered the bridge to Jordan closed early yesterday, for fear that Hamas accomplices could attempt to flee.

In all more than 200 Palestinians suspected of involvement with Hamas or Islamic Jihad have been arrested since the suicide bomb attacks in Mahaneh Yehuda on July 30 and Rehov Ben-Yehuda on September 4 that killed 20 Israelis.

Last week security forces uncovered a Hamas terrorist cell operating in east Jerusalem and an Islamic Jihad cell operating in the Samaria region.

During his visit to Austria yesterday, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu told reporters he was 100 percent sure that the Jerusalem suicide bombers came from the West Bank and not from overseas.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai added that the attackers received backing in the territories.

Meanwhile, members of the Tsurif gang were brought to the Lod Military Court yesterday.

Suspects Ra'ad Abu Hamadiya, 21 and Ayman Kafisha, 27, both of Hebron, have been charged with the kidnap and murder of IDF soldier Sharon Edry in September 1996, the suicide bomb attack in March in Tel Aviv's Apropo cafe in March that killed three women, and three drive-by shootings in 1996 in which seven Israelis were killed.

The victims were, Uri Monk, his son and daughter-in-law from Moshav Tirosh; Yaron and Efrat Moshav Kiryat Arba; Maj. Oz Tivon and Sgt. Yaniv Shimel in a shooting near Karnai Tzur.

Schwartz admits he faked kidnapping

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Ya'acov Schwartz, whose disappearance and suspected kidnapping by terrorists sparked widespread searches earlier this month, yesterday confessed to police that he had staged his own abduction.

Schwartz, 63, of Bnei Brak, admitted his goal was to unite a country divided by the deteriorating security situation and the terrorist attacks that had claimed so many lives. He denied his act had any connection to the visit of US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

At a press conference, Lachish District police chief Dep.-Cmdr. Moshe Karadi stressed that although the motive for Schwartz's acts is yet to be determined, it was fairly clear from the outset that the incident was not a terror act. Karadi said police are still trying to determine if Schwartz had acted alone, as he claims, or was aided by others.

According to police investigators after he was presented with evidence that had been collected by the investigating team.

Schwartz's abandoned vehicle was discovered at the entrance to Kibbutz Netiv Ha'asara on

September 10, after he had visited relatives' graves in the Ashkelon cemetery, together with his son. When his son left for home, Schwartz allegedly told him he would pick up hitchhiking soldiers to relieve the boredom of the long drive back to Bnei Brak.

Police contacted the family when his car was found and discovered that Schwartz had failed to return home. Fearing he had been abducted by terrorists, police initiated a widespread search. The search involved hundreds of police, soldiers, and General Security Service agents, and numerous volunteers.

The cost of the search was said to be approximately NIS 1 million.

Less than 48 hours later, Schwartz was found, his hands and legs tied, in a burning abandoned building in a residential neighborhood in Ashkelon.

Karadi said Schwartz told police that after parking his car at Netiv Ha'asara, he went to a factory he owns near Tel Aviv, where he remained for two days. He then went to the abandoned building where he was found.

Karadi said police will confer with the State Attorney's Office regarding charges to be brought against Schwartz.

Nasrallah to IDF: Keep off strategic targets

BEIRUT (AP) - Hizbullah leader Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah warned Israel yesterday that his fighters will retaliate if the IDF damages Lebanon's utilities.

"I want to tell this enemy... bombing [Lebanon's] infrastructure will be met with retaliation," he told a rally. "We won't keep quiet about the destruction of our country."

Israel bombed an electrical station and water plant during Operation Grapes of Wrath last year.

Nasrallah compared the Lebanese guerrillas to Palestinian fighters and said: "I want to tell them that we and our brothers in Palestine are also capable of bringing their enemy to a stage where there is no tourism, no economy, and no public utilities."

Nasrallah spoke at a rally in Beirut's southern suburbs to commemorate the death of his eldest

son Hadi, 18, 10 days ago. Hadi Nasrallah and three other gunmen were killed in a clash with Israeli troops in south Lebanon.

"Tens of thousands of supporters frequently interrupted his speech with cries of 'Allahu Akbar,' and 'Death to Israel.'"

Nasrallah said while Israeli "warplanes can invade our skies, we have martyrs that can invade all their markets, towns, and settlements."

Nasrallah also attacked the recent visit by US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to the region, charging it was meant to further Israel's goals.

Nasrallah said Albright's characterization of Hamas and Islamic Jihad as terrorist groups was a compliment. "Such a testimony from this Jewish old hag is a tribute for Hamas and Islamic Jihad," he said.



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NEWS

in brief

Man stabbed near Jerusalem's Old City

A Jewish man was stabbed near the Damascus Gate of Jerusalem's Old City last night. Police said the attack was apparently criminally motivated, and not a terror act. The attacker fled the scene. The victim was reported to be in moderate to serious condition at Hadassah-University Hospital, Ein Kerem. *Jim*

Jordan frees detained Hamas spokesman

Jordan yesterday freed Hamas spokesman Ibrahim Ghosheh, after two weeks in detention. Ghosheh, 61, was arrested on September 7 after issuing a press statement saying that Hamas would continue to attack Israelis. The government has alleged that Ghosheh broke the law by inciting violence against a friendly country. *AP*

MIA families: IDF withholding information

Families of the Israeli soldiers missing since the 1982 battle of Sultan Ya'acoub in Lebanon sent a letter to Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai yesterday, claiming the defense establishment withheld information from them about negotiations over their sons' fate which surfaced in radio reports from Damascus.

OC Manpower Branch Maj.-Gen. Gideon Shefer met yesterday evening with the parents of Zvi Feldman, one of the missing soldiers. But Yona Baumel, father of MIA Zacharia Baumel, said the visit had been planned well in advance and was one of the routine New Year visits made by the head of IDF manpower to the families. *Batsheva Tsur*

Tel Aviv woman missing

Police, Airports Authority workers, and volunteers searched yesterday for Tamar Brez, 33, of Tel Aviv, an Airports Authority employee who has been missing since last Wednesday.

Brez had told a friend Wednesday that she was going to the Home Center store in Ramat Gan and would meet him afterward, but she did not show for the meeting. Friends and family members began looking for her, to no avail.

When she did not attend a family event on Saturday, her family reported her disappearance to police. Her car was found at the Home Center parking lot early yesterday morning. Yarkon Police have set up a special team to coordinate the search. *Jim*

Israeli delegation in Qatar for jurists' meeting

A delegation of 20 Israeli judges, lawyers and legal experts arrived in Doha, Qatar, yesterday to attend a World Jurists Association conference.

The Israelis are hoping to meet with Qatari officials on the sidelines.

"This is important to us. We will try to meet our brothers in Qatar," said Zaki Kamal, an Israeli Arab who is deputy head of the delegation.

Among the prominent jurists participating in the Israeli delegation are former Supreme Court president Meir Shamgar, Foreign Ministry legal adviser Robbie Sabel and advocate Yehoshua Neuner of the Israel Bar Association. The delegation is scheduled to return to Israel next Sunday. *Batsheva Tsur and AP*

Iran to produce missile with range to hit Israel

With the help of Russian scientists, Iran is developing a missile capable of reaching Israel and will have the ability to produce the missiles within 18 months, Israeli officials said yesterday.

Israel is trying to rally the US and Europe in efforts to persuade the Russians to end support for the development of the Shahab 3.

"The calculations are that within 18 months they will be able to deploy the first Shahab 3 missile," said an official. He declined to say if elements of the missile system had been test fired, but a second official said components of the missile system had been successfully tested recently. *AP*

Havel arrives today

Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech Republic, arrives this afternoon on a five-day state visit. He will be coming from Lebanon and Jordan, and diplomatic sources think he will be bringing messages from those governments.

Israel is particularly interested in hearing from Lebanon about the return of the body of naval commando Itamar Ily. *Jim*

Woman dies in collision

A woman died last night after her car collided with a minibus at the Kabri intersection in western Galilee. The minibus driver was lightly injured. *Jim*

Naveh to US for talks on PA negotiations

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN and news agencies

Cabinet secretary Dan Naveh left yesterday for Washington as head of a working party to prepare for renewed talks between Israel and the Palestinians, as proposed by US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright during her visit two weeks ago. Jerusalem sources said that Naveh would in essence continue Albright's efforts to salvage the peace talks, which broke down last March over the Har Homa construction. Later this week, Foreign Minister David Levy, who also left for the US to attend the UN General Assembly session, is scheduled to meet top Palestinian official Mahmoud Abbas.

"In the first stage we will look at what the Palestinian Authority has done as a preliminary step against terrorism, and we hope

that the picture we find will allow negotiations and the working groups to resume," Naveh told Israel Radio.

"Our talks are to pave the way for certain agreements and we hope this is what will happen," he added.

The talks will focus on Israel's demands for firmer Palestinian measures to prevent terrorism, and also on Palestinian demands for Israel to refrain from taking unilateral steps, such as a decision this month against implementing a second pullback of Israeli soldiers in the West Bank, and the moving of Jewish families into Ras al-Amud.

Palestinians also plan to raise the issues of continued settlement expansion in the West Bank and Gaza, Israeli land confiscations, their demands for a safe passage corridor between Gaza and the West Bank, and construction of a port and an airport in Gaza.

Barak-Kahalani meeting on national unity gov't fruitless

By SARAH HONG

The cause of national unity made little headway yesterday. A meeting between Labor Party chairman Ehud Barak and Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani of the Third Way - which is taking on the matchmaker role - was fruitless.

At the end of the day, Barak demanded that the Likud "change the coalition guidelines according to the Labor platform," and Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu countered by suggesting that Labor "accept the present coalition guidelines."

Despite much media hype, insiders in both large parties agreed last night that national unity at this juncture is not a realistic option.

The Third Way has revived its campaign of a year ago to bring Labor and the Likud together, and Kahalani met with Barak and a team of top Labor MKs. He plans next to get Netanyahu's ear.

Kahalani professed not to have been discouraged by what he heard from Barak and insisted that the "door is not really entirely closed. There really is no substantive difference between Labor and the Likud, and the only reason they are not going it together is political expediency. But the appearance of a rift in the nation is being interpreted in the world, and particularly in this region, as weakness, and therefore, for the good of the nation, the two large parties must work in unison."

Barak directed Kahalani to Netanyahu and told him that "it is the prime minister who must do the inviting, but we would anyway not join his government unless he admits utter failure and admits that he is hurdling this country down a steep slope to utter ruin. Unless he changes his policy 180 degrees in the direction of our platform, there is nothing to talk about. If he does turn 180 degrees, then perhaps there might be something to talk about."

MK Haggai Merom, one of Labor's most outspoken opponents of national unity, wondered "what some members of the media see in Barak's words that indicates that national unity is a likely possibility... Barak's statement



Labor Party Chairman Ehud Barak (left) meets with Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani, of the Third Way, yesterday to discuss a national unity government. (Flash 90)

betrays no change of attitude. He conditioned his readiness to talk national unity on a total change in Netanyahu's policies and that is not likely."

From Vienna, Netanyahu relayed a mirror image of Barak's statement. "Labor must accept our guidelines; it must cease to viciously malign us at every turn, and it must stop accepting every Arab argument and position if it wants us to consider national unity. If all that happens, we'll think about it."

The minister who conceivably has the most to lose if a national unity scenario materializes, Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, expressed total opposition to the notion.

"National unity hinges on common guidelines. We were given a mandate by the voters to promote a certain policy direction. If Labor decides to come on board and accept our platform, then by all means. Otherwise, there is no chance for going it together," he said.

Barak would, it is assumed, settle for nothing less than the Defense portfolio as his price for joining the government.

Meanwhile Tourism Minister Moshe Kaisav became the fourth Likud minister to express what he called "theoretical" support for national unity.

"Such a government would could help determine our permanent borders and take internal dis-

session out of the negotiations with the Arabs," he said, "but everything hinges on whether it is possible at all to come up with guidelines for the coalition. This makes it a very distant likelihood."

Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi talked about the advantages of unity a day earlier, and National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon and Science Minister Michael Eitan had long espoused national unity.

Batsheva Tsur adds:

The nature of democracy is such that it does not encourage the setting up of a national unity government, President Ezer Weizman said.

"Of course, the more national unity there is, the better things are," he told Israel Radio. "But I want to say something which may sound incongruous."

"Democracy, by definition, is anti-unity. Parties are a natural product of a democracy. Let's take the US, for example. There are two parties there, but there is no national unity government. From time to time, a Republican becomes secretary of defense [in a Democratic administration]. But the nature of democracy is such that everyone can express his opinion and therefore there is a split."

Nevertheless, Weizman said, if a unity government is set up, he would welcome it. "But I will not take steps to contribute to this," he said.

IDF

Continued from Page 1

In all, the gang numbered six, including the bomber who blew himself up in Apropo, and three being held by Palestinian authorities.

The session was postponed after the suspects' lawyer, Leah Tsencel, failed to show, reportedly due to illness.

But an angry confrontation took place in the courtroom while reporters interviewed the suspects.

Edry's brothers surged at Hamadiya and Kafitza, but were restrained by IDF guards. It was the first time they had seen the suspects in court.

Hamadiya stood up and told them, "I am not afraid of you."

"Those murdering terrorists enter prison knowing full well they will be released and Arafat will take care of them," Shlomo Edry said afterwards.

"I saw my brother's murderers, they look happy, well cared for, healthy and smiling. What they are in fact doing to us is triple murder," he said.

Edry said he hoped the two would get the death penalty. "We are in an emergency situation and must act accordingly," he said.

Hamadiya told reporters that he hadn't planned to kill Edry but to keep him alive as a bargaining chip to demand the release of Palestinian prisoners.

As the suspects were led out of the courtroom, Edry's brothers called out, "you are with our family, you maniacs."

According to the IDF, the Tsurif cell was led by Ismail Ranimat, 25, of Tsurif, who studies in Hebron. He was jailed in 1993-4 as a Hamas member. Two other members are Gamal Jibril Alhour, 27, of Tsurif and Ibrahim Abdullah Ranimat, 39, of Tsurif, who was detained numerous times for membership in terrorist cells. These three were detained by the Palestinian Authority.

Moussa Ranimat blew himself up in the Apropo Cafe in March.

Charges were also filed in Lod Military Court against an east Jerusalem man accused of belonging to Hamas, Saliman Fuakah, 20. He allegedly collected money for a Hamas affiliate group in Abu Dis.

Last Thursday the military court in Beit El sentenced Ayyash Ayyash, the mother of Yehye Ayyash, known as "the engineer," to 40 days in prison and a fine of NIS 1,500 on charges of being a Hamas accomplice in 1995 and 1996.

She received a two-year suspended sentence, and wasn't jailed since she had already served jail time, the IDF Spokesman said.

Palestinian claims his uncle owns disputed Ras al-Amud building

By ELLI WOHLGELERTER

A Palestinian man insisting his uncle is the owner of the Jewish house in Ras al-Amud attempted to reclaim the property yesterday, but was turned back by police who denied him entry into the controversial building.

Fuad Hadieh said he had been living in the two-story house since 1988 with the permission of the owner, his uncle Khalil Silwani, and that neither he nor Silwani sold the house to Dr. Irving Moskowitz, the financier who claims ownership of the property.

"I will enter the house by force," said Hadieh. "It is my house and all my belongings are inside," including furniture and blacksmithing equipment, Hadieh said.

Hadieh was accompanied on his attempt to enter the house by

Mubarak likens Ras al-Amud to invasion of Kuwait

CAIRO (AP) - President Hosni Mubarak yesterday compared the moving of Jewish families into Ras al-Amud to Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Speaking after opening a Cairo subway station, Mubarak quoted Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat as calling the step an Israeli maneuver.

Mubarak added, "Then what is the difference between that and Iraq's entering Kuwait?"

his two sons and an entourage of Palestinians, including the mufti of Jerusalem.

Fistfights broke out between the group and police, and a few Palestinian youths were arrested and later released.

Hadieh's lawyers and police representatives, it was decided that Hadieh would file a complaint of trespassing this morning and that police would investigate the matter.

Hadieh said he had just returned from Romania, where

he had gone for medical treatment, to discover that the house where he had lived in with his family had been taken over.

"I absolutely did not sell the house," Hadieh said. "I've lived here since 1988. They took it by force. They had no right to do it."

That Hadieh did not sell it was verified by the lawyer for Moskowitz, Eitan Geva, who said that the property was bought from Jews, not Arabs. He said the four-acre plot had been purchased in 1991 from the Habad Kollel and the Wohlin Kollel, which had been awarded title to the property in 1984 by Israeli courts after a protracted dispute over ownership.

According to Geva, the disputed plot was bought in 1887 by the two yeshivot, which later leased it to a local village leader.

Labor to have two chief execs

By SARAH HONG

Labor Party chairman Ehud Barak announced yesterday that the party will have both an elected secretary-general and an appointed director-general.

The issue had generated controversy in Labor for months, and Barak had taken on the role of caretaker secretary-general when MK Nissim Ziv resigned.

Barak had let it be known that he preferred not to have another elected secretary-general, a position which constitutes a powerful political base.

Instead, he hinted that he would rather borrow a leaf from Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu who, after his victory in the party leadership primary of 1993, appointed a director-general. The director-general is a technocrat, who carries out the party chairman's directives.

Party insiders criticized Barak's decision to have both as again manifesting his need to please all sides.



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A group of Palestinian Islamic militants detained by the Palestinian Authority, walk inside the central jail in Gaza yesterday. PA head Yasser Arafat has opened the jail to the foreign media to show he was still holding militants detained after a wave of bombing attacks in 1996. (Reuters)

Palestinians show Hamas prisoners to foreign media

By PAUL HOLMES

GAZA (Reuters) - Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat has opened his biggest jail to foreign media to show he is still holding Islamic militants rounded up after a wave of bomb attacks that killed dozens of Israelis more than a year ago. Journalists from Reuters were able to enter the central jail in self-ruled Gaza at the weekend and meet and film some of its 66 political inmates. They live about eight to a room in a segregated section of the run-down prison. Prison staff and the detainees themselves said most inmates were from Hamas, the group which claimed responsibility for the Mahabach Yehuda and Rehov Ben-Yehuda suicide bombings. A slew of suicide attacks in February and March of 1996

killed 57 when Hamas avenged the killing a month earlier in Gaza of master bomb-maker Yaihye Ayyash, known as "The Engineer." Hussein Ashour said he was an administrative officer in underground "secret cells" of Hamas' military wing until his arrest in March 1996, along with 1,000 other suspected militants rounded up by Arafat in the West Bank and Gaza. "The objective of this secret apparatus is to carry out attacks against Jews," Ashour, 41, said in the section's small exercise yard. "Last year's crackdown has hurt the movement and affected its military operations but the military wing in Hamas has the ability to develop itself and find replacements," he said. "We are not going to carry out

mass arrests after every bombing," the deputy head of preventive security in Gaza, Rashid Abu Shbak, said in an interview. "I need sufficient proof to arrest someone," he said. He said measures were being taken against Hamas "to protect ourselves" from any attempt by the movement to take over the Palestinian Authority. He called for regional and international security cooperation against terrorism. "Even if we smash Hamas here, if the funding and leadership are abroad our work is in vain," Abu Shbak said. He said Hamas political leader Musa Abu Mazouk had called for attacks against Israel from Jordan, where he has lived since his release from a New York jail last May. Hamas supporters in Saudi

Arabia also funded the movement via London and other Western European cities, Abu Shbak said. Abu Shbak said several people had been detained in Gaza on suspicion of extremist violence recently. None of the arrests were in connection with the Jerusalem attacks, he said. At the jail, which has more than 450 inmates, political prisoners live in rooms decorated with gilded cardboard models of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque and posters of Islamic fundamentalist leaders. Fewer than a third of the detainees have been charged or tried, prison officials said. Omar Abdallah Shaath, 32, said he had been arrested in 1995 and accused of planning the January 1995 Beit Lid suicide bombings in which 22 Israelis died.

Report: Arafat blacked out in Cairo

CAIRO — Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat fainted during a meeting of Arab ministers after a heated argument over a controversial economic conference with Israel, Egyptian foreign ministry sources said yesterday. "He was arguing with the Qatari foreign minister on Friday about the (economic) conference and got upset and just blacked out," an official who declined to be named told Reuters. "We got him a doctor who revived him. He had to be led out of the ministry at the end of the meeting," he added. Nabil Shaath, the Palestinian

Minister for International Cooperation, denied the report on Channel 2 that the 68-year-old Arafat was seriously ill. "Any health problems of Arafat don't exceed anything suffered by any person at his age," Shaath told reporters. Channel 2, citing Western intelligence sources, said Friday that Arafat's illness affected his muscle control, but not his mental condition. The television rebroadcast segments of a recent interview with Arafat in which the Palestinian leader's lower lip quivered uncontrollably. The report didn't say

what illness Arafat is said to have. Some Arab foreign ministers meeting in Cairo for three days linked participation in the Middle East and North Africa economic conference due to be held in Doha in November to progress in peace talks. Others said that the stalled talks will jeopardize the success of the conference, a by-product of the Madrid conference. Arafat, who left Cairo yesterday after a two-day visit, complained to the ministers about another deal permitting yeshiva students to live in Ras al-Amud, rather than settlers. (News agencies)

Arab ministers threaten to review peace steps

CAIRO (Reuters) - Arab foreign ministers yesterday blamed Israel for the stalemate in the peace process and said they would reconsider steps already taken in the framework of peace agreements. The ministers, in a statement issued at the end of a two-day Arab League meeting in Cairo, also refrained from saying whether they would amend the Doha economic meeting, due to be held in November. The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) conference, an annual affair which groups the Arabs and Israel, was high on the foreign ministers' agenda. "We affirm that Israel's procrastination...and its breach of the agreements and principles on which the peace process is based have led to a regression in the

process and to a reconsideration of steps taken towards Israel within the framework of the 'peace process,'" said the final statement. "Israel will bear full responsibility of its actions," said the statement. It did not elaborate, but the Arab League had recommended its members at an extraordinary meeting earlier this year to suspend any further moves towards normalizing ties with Israel. The ministers said in comments to reporters that the success of the Doha conference would be jeopardized by the faltering peace process but they did not mention the event in their final statement. Saudi Arabia and Egypt have said they will only attend if peace talks are revived and

Syria and Lebanon, which along with Iraq and Libya were absent from the previous MENA summit, have said they will not attend. Jordan and Morocco have also expressed doubts about participating. Foreign Minister Sheikh Hamad al-Thani of Qatar, whose country is hosting the meeting, also said that Israel must change its policies for the conference to be held. "The Middle East and North Africa economic summit will not be a successful conference as it is hoped for, unless tangible progress is achieved in the peace process," he said. "The current position of the peace process confirms that there is an Israeli policy adversary to just peace."

Palestinian businessmen plan to buy property in western Jerusalem

By MOHAMMED HALIS and news agencies
Palestinian businessmen are planning to purchase Jewish properties in western Jerusalem in preparation for negotiations over the final status of the city, Dr. Ahmed Tibi, an adviser to Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat, said yesterday. Tibi said that the Palestinian businessmen are close to signing contracts to buy at least three Jewish properties, one of them a large building in "a well-known area." "There are Palestinian businessmen who are negotiating with an Israeli to buy a big, six-floor building in a sensitive area of west Jerusalem," Tibi said.

"I would like to know how Israelis will feel when they wake up one morning and find the Palestinian flag raised on this high building and hear Palestinian national songs playing loud from those buildings," he said. Tibi, who declined to give details about the buildings or the businessmen intending to purchase them, said: "I was surprised to find out that now the number of Israelis selling their property in west Jerusalem is increasing." Tibi called the deals a reaction to Jews settling in east Jerusalem, particularly in Ras al-Amud. "I think the Israeli people will begin to question their actions and provocations in east Jerusalem," he said.

Tibi and other PA officials claim that Palestinians owned 70 percent of property in west Jerusalem based on documents some of which predate the state's founding. Palestinian lawyer Khader Shkeirat, head of the Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and the Environment in Beit Hanina, said his group is counting the properties to demand their return. "We have been working hard on this issue for about one-and-a-half years," Shkeirat said. "We have prepared about 6,100 documents of our estates, and will ask for them not through the Israeli judiciary, which we distrust, but via an international campaign for solidarity with Palestinian demands."

PALESTINIAN PRESS REVIEW

By MICHAEL SELA

Following the Palestinian Authority's tactics of keeping a low profile in reacting to the Ras al-Amud affair, the Palestinian press limited itself to reporting the events and diplomatic contacts that surrounded the episode. Only after the compromise had been reached did Palestinian commentators offer their opinions, describing the affair as another step in Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's Oslo-killing policy. The compromise, however, was strongly rejected by Palestinian officials as well as by commentators. Orient House published an official announcement rejecting the so-called Israeli-Israeli compromise. Fatah leader Marwan Barghout, in *al-Hayat al-Jadida*, described the settlement as "an organized and ugly act of terrorism." The Ras al-Amud affair is part of an overall plan of judicialization of Jerusalem, according to all the Palestinian newspapers, which saw no difference between Har Hama, houses occupied by Jews in the Old City of Jerusalem, and more road construction to connect neighborhoods around the city. All the newspapers widely quoted the Hebrew press, which described this plan in detail.

A double message

Rejecting the compromise, Ilyas Zananiri, in *al-Ayyam*, criticized Netanyahu for sending a double message. For external consumption, he created the impression that he opposed settling in Ras al-Amud, but at the same time he made sure that the police and IDF did not stop it. Furthermore, the compromise is nothing but a means to have direct control over the area, to allow its development into a real Jewish settlement whenever the government finds it more convenient. To face the Zionist expansion in Jerusalem, Zananiri suggested mobilizing rich Arab businessmen. "The Arabs need more than one

Moskowitz. Over 85 percent of the lands in West Jerusalem are Palestinian and Arab property. Logic and duty call for a legal campaign on the highest level to redeem it. If the Jews want to hold to the lands in Ras al-Amud, claiming that it was sold to them... why not reopen the Arab property file in West Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine?" Mentioning that many still hold the legal documents proving their ownership, Zananiri asked: "If the Jews allow themselves to use all kind of tricks to take control of Arab property why not try take similar steps?" "The compromise is nothing but the deepening of the settlement," according to Hafez Barghout, in *al-Hayat al-Jadida*. He mentioned previous deals which turned into permanent settlements of Jewish families, is Netanyahu's. "From the opening of the [Western Wall] tunnel, through Jabal Ghosim [Har Hama], to Ras al-Amud, Netanyahu takes settlement initiatives to stop any progress in the negotiations and bring back suicide bombings. These enable him to stand near the Israeli bodies, and complain about terrorism, forgetting that the reason for his diabolical policy to blow the peace process." Barghout went further in another article in *al-Hayat al-Jadida*, in which he resorted to anti-Semitic imagery. He called Moskowitz "Shylock, who gives Jerusalem piece by piece to his dogs."

The dying peace process

Self-criticism was another angle in the Palestinian press, to look at what they call the dying peace process. Barghout criticized the Palestinians, for sitting idle while the homeland is being gently

removed, inch by inch, from under their feet, "while Palestinian millionaires seem to save Jerusalem through the fax and the Internet." "The two peoples live in a tragedy," wrote Atta Qaimari in *al-Quds*. Since Netanyahu came to power, the peace process has become a dead body that nobody

wants to bury, he wrote. He denounced the terrorists' actions, but at the same time criticized the Israeli government for using the human tragedies as a marketing gimmick. "This is a distorted world... a world that supports the stronger... leaving the weaker party crushed."

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High Court to Hammer: Air show on homosexuality

By BATSHEVA TSUR,
ARYEH DEAN COHEN and Itin

The High Court of Justice ruled yesterday that Education Minister Zevulun Hammer's objections to showing a documentary dealing with homosexuality on Educational Television are unwarranted.

The program, "Open Cards," which deals with homosexuality among young people, was prepared last year, but Hammer prevented its being broadcast on the grounds it is one-sided and fails to represent family values. He said that he feared it would encourage homosexual tendencies among the country's youth.

The Association of Civil Rights in Israel and the Lesbian Feminist Community then petitioned the court, requesting that it overrule Hammer's objections.

In a unanimous decision, Court President Aharon Barak and Justices Dalia Dorn and Ya'acov Kedmi ruled that the program should be shown. "The question of sexual identity is a fit subject to be aired within the framework of an educational program," they wrote in their opinion.

"No damage will be caused by viewing the program," Kedmi wrote. "Hiding in the closet and denouncing [homosexuality] will not lead to a decrease in the extent of the phenomenon."

"I am sorry that the court ordered the Education Ministry and its head to broadcast a program on Educational Television which I believe is inappropriate and unbalanced," Hammer said yesterday.

"The message conveyed by a program on Educational Television is the same as that passed on in a class in school, which is why it was important to ensure that such a program be balanced, and that it show the nature, advantages of, and respect exemplified in the traditional family unit in Israel."

"The High Court does an outstanding job of fulfilling its aims when it comes to protecting the rights of the little person from the establishment, but this is not the case when it comes to matters regarding conflicting points of view."

Hammer said he believes that the court should have also taken into consideration the view that

it is not proper to say to our youth that you can choose between a homosexual family and a traditional one. Approving the program is as if we are telling these youngsters that homosexuality is an alternative to the normal, traditional family unit, he said.

"I think the court would have done better if it had accepted my proposal to prepare a new program which would present the matter in a more balanced fashion," Hammer said.

Dan Yakir, the legal adviser for ACRI, said the ruling is important "for the public's right to know and the prevention of the minister of education's attempt to silence the homosexual and lesbian youths who were discussing their special problems as homosexual youth. It is important for understanding and tolerance of minorities and those on the fringes of society. The ruling also gives independence and autonomy to public broadcasting — not just to television but also to Army Radio and the Israel Broadcasting Authority."

Marne Rochester contributed to this story.



Ronald Lauder (left) blows out a candle held up by a boy at the opening of a new kindergarten building for the Jewish Community School in Budapest, built with funds from the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation. The foundation marked its tenth anniversary. (Reuters)

Lauder launches Jewish kindergarten in Budapest

BUDAPEST (Reuters) — US millionaire Ronald Lauder opened a Jewish kindergarten in Hungary yesterday and said the school his foundation paid for would help revive Judaism.

"This is a special school. It is a school for a Jewish community that lived under communism," said Lauder, an heir to the Estee Lauder cosmetics fortune and a leader in revitalizing the Jewish faith in Eastern Europe.

"It is part of the heart and soul of what the future is for the Jewish community," Lauder said before opening ceremonies for the kindergarten which is part of the Lauder Jewish Community School in Budapest. The kindergarten, with space for 62 children, is housed in a renovated villa adjacent to the ultra-modern campus of the Lauder Jewish school, which opened in 1996.

School officials said the renovations cost about \$400,000 and that they already have full enrollment.

Hungary has a Jewish community of 80,000 to 100,000 remaining from a pre-World War II population of almost one million. Most of Hungary's Jews were deported or exterminated during the war while religious institutions were neglected or discouraged under communism.

Burg backers hail delay in Jewish Agency rotation

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's decision to delay rotation of the chairmanship of the Jewish Agency another two years was hailed yesterday as "a major victory for Chairman Avraham Burg" by those close to him.

Netanyahu, World Likud chairman and Tel Aviv Mayor Ronni Milo, and Burg reached the agreement over the weekend, thus derailing plans by World Zionist Organization Settlement Division head Sallai Meridor to seek the Likud candidacy for the position.

Meridor, who is currently abroad, had announced his intention last month, but Likud sources said that "the prime minister was apparently so dead set against Meridor, he was ready to hand the Jewish Agency over to the Labor Party for the next two years."

Because of different interpretations over whether the party in power or the largest party should have control of the agency, a rotation system was agreed upon by the two parties. A new chairman was to have been appointed in December.

Knesset Immigration Committee chairwoman Naomi Blumenthal had been mentioned as a candidate by Netanyahu, as had Maj.-Gen. (res.) Yossi Peled, but a Jewish Agency source said the two "had absolutely no chance of being accepted by the Americans. Netanyahu was simply at a dead end."

"The Jewish Agency is currently going through reorganization," the source said, "and Board of Governors chairman [Charles] Corky Goodman wanted continuity. For the same reason, he also wanted someone who could get on with the Americans, and that person is Avraham Burg. So, since Netanyahu didn't want Meridor at any cost, and he had nobody else, the deal is in everyone's

interest." The source said the deal was perfect for Burg, who he said plans to re-enter the political arena in two years. "Burg won big; he got what he wanted," the source said.

However, a source close to Meridor said that the deal "could still come apart," and that in any case, Meridor's people would begin pushing for him to be named the Likud's candidate as soon as possible via World Likud elections. "The Americans may not approve such a deal without having the Likud candidate already known," the source said.

Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert, considered a supporter of Meridor's, told Israel Radio yesterday: "Ostensibly, the prime minister doesn't have anything against Sallai. The rotation agreement itself is something that both I and Sallai accept."

"Our consideration from the beginning was that we have enough elections among Israelis within our own political spectrum. An election campaign between Sallai and Avraham Burg would require them to run against each other in the Jewish communities as well, and would have opened wounds we're not interested in opening in the very sensitive relations between the state of Israel and Diaspora Jewry. That's why... rotation was acceptable."

Olmert said that he and Milo would now act to promote Meridor's candidacy, and that "I'm certain that the prime minister will in the end be convinced that it's better to agree on a candidate acceptable to everyone, and who is a Likud man... than to leave it open, and perhaps reach a situation where the Likud won't have any candidate."

A source close to Blumenthal denied reports that her candidacy was not acceptable to the Americans, saying that requests for her to seek the candidacy had expressly come from World Likud members abroad.

Conservatives threaten to boycott hotel chain over mikve dispute

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Conservative rabbis from abroad have been threatening to boycott the Dan hotel chain because of a dispute over the use of the ritual bath in Jerusalem's Dan Pearl Hotel, despite a commitment by the local Conservative and Reform movements to avoid controversy for the time being.

The commitment was made because a committee is presently examining the possibility of registering Reform and Conservative converts in Israel as Jews. The committee, which was to have completed its work by August 15, is still meeting, despite the busy schedule of its chairman, Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman. It includes five Orthodox members

and a representative each from the Conservative and Reform movements.

The incident at the Dan Pearl occurred last month, when the Conservative movement rented the mikve (ritual bath), to conduct a conversion ceremony.

According to Rabbi Andrew Sacks, who is in charge of the movement's conversion program, the kashrut supervisor of the hotel tried to stop the ceremony and the hotel later told the movement it could not use the mikve in the future.

Sacks then wrote a report on the Internet and several Conservative rabbis who read the report have threatened to boycott either the Dan Pearl Hotel or the entire Dan chain.

But Rabbi Ehud Bandel, presi-

dent of Israel's Masorti (Conservative) movement, denied that the movement had any intention of acting against that particular hotel or the chain.

The hotel, he said, was only a pawn in the hands of the religious establishment, he said. He added that the movement is respecting the commitment not to create a furor, but he added that this does not mean it will sit back and take any insult from the religious authorities.

"If someone slaps us, our policy is not to turn the other cheek," Bandel said.

A spokesman for the Dan hotel chain said yesterday that the Dan Pearl has decided to restrict the use of the mikve to its guests, and would not make it available for any organized function.

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UN celebrates \$1 billion grant from Ted Turner

By CRAIG TURNER

UNITED NATIONS — The usual diplomatic reserve was tossed aside here Friday as the UN celebrated media titan Ted Turner's pledge to donate \$1 billion to the organization over the next 10 years.

In addition to hailing the infusion of all that money into the financially squeezed organization, diplomats and UN officials cherished what they saw as an endorsement by one of America's most visionary businessmen of a world body battered by accusations that it is inefficient, bloated, and increasingly irrelevant.

"This is very positive, not so much for the money that will come to the UN as for the confidence it expresses in the UN system," said Indian Ambassador Kamlesh Sharma in a typical comment. "Who would give a billion bucks to a failing system? He obviously believes in what the UN is doing."

At a dinner given in New York on Thursday night by the United Nations Association of the United States of America, a UN support group, Turner, vice chairman of Time Warner Inc., pledged to donate \$100 million a year for a decade to fund UN humanitarian activities around the globe.

The donation, about one-third of Turner's net worth, will come in the form of Time Warner stock and will be channeled through a foundation, Turner said.

The total could drop below \$1 billion if Time Warner stock declines in value over the 10 years.

Turner added that he would seek additional donations from other wealthy Americans.

The speech prompted a loud ovation at the dinner and the news monopolized conversations Friday morning in UN offices and the headquarters of foreign delegations.

Fred Eckhard, the UN's chief media spokesman, declared it "a billion-dollar day at the United Nations."

Details of how the foundation will work have not yet been determined. Turner's representatives met Friday with Joseph Connor, UN undersecretary-general for administration, to begin discussions.

Turner has specified that the money be directed toward disease prevention, children's programs, land mine removal, and other humanitarian programs and not be used for administrative costs.

Secretary-General Kofi Annan said that within the parameters set down by Turner, the UN will select the projects funded by his donations.

Officials are sensitive to complaints that an individual, rather than the UN's member countries, could be perceived to be deciding organization policy.

The \$100 million a year Turner will donate exceeds the annual



Turner. More to come? (AP)

amount paid by all but seven of the organization's 185 member countries for the operations and peacekeeping budgets, which total about \$2.6 billion.

Member states were nearly \$2.6 billion behind in their payments as of Friday, Annan's office announced. The largest debtor is the US, which owes \$1.5 billion. Turner's donation will not end the cash crisis, because under the UN Charter donations from individuals cannot be used for general administrative costs or injected into the regular budget.

"It's an add-on to the existing program of work," said Eckhard.

But Turner, 58, who long has supported the UN and other internationalist efforts, said he hoped to persuade others to augment his donation.

"This giving, I hope it's contagious," he said at a news conference in Los Angeles, where he flew immediately after the dinner. "The UN operations are hamstrung because the biggest member is behind on its dues."

He encouraged people to "give away the money they can't figure... out what to do with."

Legislation pending in Congress would repay between \$800 million and \$900 million in the American back dues, but would tie reimbursement to specific reforms in UN procedures and a reduction in the amount the US pays from 25 percent to 20 percent of the total budget.

Other countries represented here have been very critical of the American approach. But US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright warned in Washington that the current deal is the best the UN will get.

"If the United Nations waits for a better proposal with more money from the US Congress, it is likely to get a proposal with more requirements [for reform] and less money," she told a news conference Friday.

Turner, whose cable television empire including Cable News Network, was merged into Time Warner last year, recently has stepped up his charitable giving. He donated \$28 million to various causes in 1996 and has challenged other wealthy Americans to give more. (LA Times)



Solidarity gains in Polish election

Poland's right-leaning coalition of opposition parties led by the Solidarity movement looked set to win a clear lead in elections last night, winning 32.4 percent of the vote against the ruling ex-communists with 26.6%, an exit poll for Polish television showed. Mirosława Ufnal, of Warsaw, visited Solidarity Electoral Action AWS headquarters on Saturday to read its election manifesto. (AP)

Egypt: Mental health officials took bribes from escaped terrorist

By TAREK EL-TABLAUWY

CAIRO (AP) — Egyptian security took four mental health officials into custody yesterday, alleging they took bribes and aided the escape of the man who attacked a tour bus at the Egyptian Museum.

Ten people died in the attack Thursday, including nine German tourists and the Egyptian bus driver. The arrests came as the bodies of the Germans were flown to Frankfurt. A private service was held at the city's airport, attended by relatives and German government officials.

President Hosni Mubarak has ordered military prosecutors to

investigate the case against, Saber Abu el-Ulla, who reportedly escaped from an asylum several days before the attack, and his brother, Mahmoud.

The two were detained at the museum.

The president's order, issued late Saturday, means the alleged killers likely will be tried in a state security or military court, as is the norm for suspected Islamic extremists.

Verdicts and sentences in such trials can be appealed only to the president, who invariably turns down pleas for clemency.

Police said they arrested the head of Egypt's mental health institutions, the head of the Khanka

Asylum where Abu el-Ulla was a resident, and two orderlies at the asylum.

The prosecutor general ordered them detained for 15 days as he considers charging them with accepting bribes and aiding Saber Abu el-Ulla's escape from Khanka, three days before the attack, police said.

Police also were questioning three other employees of the asylum about the escape.

On Saturday, the Abu el-Ulla brothers returned to the museum before dawn to re-enact the attack for police, state security prosecutors said.

They told The Associated Press that Saber Abu el-Ulla smiled during

the re-enactment and said: "I have always wanted to be an actor." He said he entered the bus and shot the driver, then opened fire on the tourists and buried three Molotov cocktails down the aisle of the bus, prosecutors recounted.

His brother lobbed eight petrol bombs under the bus, which filled with dense black smoke.

The attack wounded at least 24 people, including seven Germans. Witnesses had reported seeing a third attacker, but government officials now say they don't believe this was the case.

Egyptian newspapers, however, challenged the government's assertions.

USAF reviews safety rules after sixth crash in 7 days

By EUN-KYUNG KIM

WASHINGTON (AP) — The US Air Force will ground all combat training flights today as part of a service-wide safety review in the wake of four crashes of its planes in the past week, officials said Friday night.

The standdown had been scheduled for next Friday, but officials moved it up four days after a B-1 bomber on a training mission crashed in Montana, killing all four crew members aboard.

The navy, marine corps and army are allowing local commanders to determine when they will conduct a similar one-day halt during the week. Navy and marine corps fighter jets also have crashed in the past week.

"We need to determine why these incidents happened and how to prevent more mishaps,"

said Gen. Richard E. Hawley, commander of the Air Combat Command at Langley Air Force Base in Hampton, Virginia.

"We will look at every facet across the spectrum of our operations and zero in on the risks associated with each task," Hawley said. "Then we will review the way we train, identify ways risks can be eliminated or minimized and take the actions necessary to mitigate those risks."

President Clinton, meanwhile "continues to have the highest confidence in the United States Air Force and all of our military services," the White House said in a statement after the B-1 crash Friday.

An Air Force C-141 transport plane flying from Namibia apparently collided with a German military plane off the coast of Africa last Saturday. One

body was recovered and 32 people are missing. The next day, an Air Force F-117A stealth fighter flying at an air show near a Baltimore suburb crashed in a residential area after a piece of the plane broke off.

And two Air National Guard F-16s collided Tuesday off the coast of New Jersey; one crashed into the Atlantic; the other landed safely. The three pilots survived.

Those plus the crashes of a Navy FA-18 in Oman last Sunday and a Marine FA-18D Hornet in North Carolina on Monday prompted Defense Secretary William Cohen on Wednesday to order all of the services to halt training flights for one day.

Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon said Thursday the services want as many squadrons as possible on operational missions to hold safety reviews.

Yale Orthodox Jews clash with sex mores

By BRIGITTE GREENBERG

NEW HAVEN, Connecticut (AP) — When freshmen arrived at Yale University this month, they were greeted with a smart-alecky article in the campus newspaper on the most titillating places on campus to have sex — in the library stacks, in the stadium, and atop Harkness Tower, the school's highest vantage point.

For five Orthodox Jews, this is a problem.

The Yale Five, as they call themselves, are demanding the right to live outside Yale's coed dormitories, where they say the easy sex and close, everyday contact between men and women are an affront to their faith. They have threatened to sue the school on religious grounds.

"The atmosphere in the dormitories is at odds with Judaism," said Jeremy A. Hershman, 19, a

sophomore. Yale, one of the top American universities, requires all freshmen and sophomores to live on campus. During freshman year, students live in buildings where the sexes are divided by floor.

In the second year, they move into single-sex suites. But members of the opposite sex often live next door.

The five Orthodox Jews say their religion prohibits living with members of the opposite sex unless they are married.

The university has said it is not discriminating against devout Jewish students, but merely wants to enrich their studies by immersing them in dormitories where men and women learn to cope with one another.

"I don't think it's really a debate about whether life in the dorms is acceptable or not," Yale

spokesman Thomas Conroy said. "We want to attract students who want to integrate themselves in the community."

He said the students knew about the residency requirement before they enrolled.

Some critics have noted that Yale is a private university, that the Orthodox students chose to attend, and that they always can go elsewhere. But the students reject that possibility.

"Yale is one of the top schools in the country, in the world. I don't think I should be deprived... because they can't accommodate me," said freshman Batsheva Greer. "Presidents have gone here, so why shouldn't I?"

Batsheva's father, Rabbi David Greer, likened the dormitories to Sodom and Gomorrah.

"The ethos of today — everything goes — is incompatible with a religious lifestyle," he recently wrote to a university official.

Iraq wants Iran to return planes

BAGHDAD (AP) — Iraq has appealed to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan to help it get back the military and civilian planes it sent to Iran for safekeeping before the 1991 Gulf war.

Foreign Minister Mohammed Osaeed Sahhaf sent a letter to Amman charging that instead of returning the planes, Iran had repaired them and is using them for military and civilian purposes.

"Iranian authorities have painted the 115 military planes and

involved them in their air force's activities," according to Sahhaf's letter, disclosed by the official Iraqi News Agency on Saturday.

It added that Iran "has painted the 27 civil planes with the colors of Iranian Airways and the transportation unit which is part of the Iranian air force to be used for internal transportation."

Iraq sent most of its military and civilian planes to Iran for safekeeping in the midst of the 1990-91 Gulf crisis, fearing they would be

destroyed by American and allied bombers.

Iran has said that it considers the planes part of Iraqi compensation due for the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq war.

Sahhaf's letter accused Iran of "violating international norms" in using the Iraqi aircraft, and said Iraqi authorities "reserve the right to demand compensation" for any damage to the planes.

The letter asked Amman to ask Iran to stop using the planes and to return them.

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 Telephone 02-531-5666, Fax 02-538-9527, CIRCULATION—02-531-5610, 177-022-2778, Fax 02-538-9017, ADVERTISING—
 02-531-5608, 02-531-5637-40 Fax 02-538-8408, TEL AVIV: 5 Rehov Hamasger, POB 28398 (61283) Telephone 03-6390333,
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Mubarak's New Middle East

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's decision not to pardon Israeli citizen Azzam is morally unacceptable, economically harmful and politically ill-conceived.

Morally, the Egyptian leadership must understand that Westerners accustomed to the works of independent judiciaries and a free press, have yet to be convinced that Azzam actually dealt in espionage.

Cairo would do well to ponder the intriguing contrast between the case at stake and that of Mossad agent Eli Cohen, who was caught and executed by Syria more than three decades ago.

While Cohen's execution—in a televised public hanging in central Damascus—was abhorred, Israel never refuted the allegation that he was indeed a spy. In other cases, too, from the famously failed ring that got caught in Egypt in the 1950s to Jonathan Pollard, who was convicted in the US in the 1980s, Israel admitted the facts.

By contrast, Israel has flatly denied that Azzam is linked to its security establishment. Though that may not be universally convincing, to Westerners the allegations remain unfounded as long as no solid proof has been provided to back them.

Mubarak has complained that Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu has besmirched Egypt's judicial system. Netanyahu's tactics in this regard indeed can, and should, be debated here. However, Egypt must understand that the root of the image problem the Azzam affair is creating for its court system is purely self-inflicted. Moreover, leaving a foreigner behind bars simply because his prime minister said something a country's president didn't like is unthinkable in Western countries, whose even-handed judicial image Mubarak seems to covet.

Faced with the lack of convincing evidence, Israel cannot escape the thought that Azzam has fallen prey to a cumbersome policy aimed at penetrating the political line which divides this country between Right and Left.

In reality, however, the Azzam affair only unites Israelis in fear of entering their southern neighbor. The best proof of that is businesswoman Dvora Ganani's recent decision to shut down her activities in Egypt, after having been arbitrarily detained for questioning at Cairo's airport. Ganani happens to be associated with opposition circles, and indeed managed to emerge unscathed from her most unpleasant

experience thanks to the direct intervention of Labor Party Chairman Ehud Barak, who happened to have been in Egypt at the time of her detention.

Egypt may delude itself that such things can pass without leaving an imprint on its own fortunes. Nothing could be more wrong.

Egypt has a lot more to gain from a healthy commercial relationship with Israel than the other way around. Clearly, whatever has been huddling in this regard during nearly two decades of peace, is now being dealt severe strategic blows.

Egypt's displeasure with the state of the peace process—besides failing to take into consideration the views of a majority of Israeli voters—seems to be leading it to respond erratically to the ups and downs of the arduous road to peace. However, in responding to those twists and turns, Egypt would do well to maintain a minimal level of credibility among foreign diplomats and investors.

Dealing with Israeli businesspeople the way it has in recent months, one must wonder whether Egypt genuinely seeks the kind of New Middle East with which it was associated until Netanyahu's rise to power.

Egypt's real problems, to be sure, have little to do with the Arab-Israeli conflict. Its daunting birth rate threatens to expand its already largely destitute population of 56 million—to whose per capita annual product is barely \$700—to 80 million within less than two decades.

It is no secret that this malaise is a major cause of this region's prevalent wrath, which is skillfully and cynically exploited by Islamist militants. Mubarak received a reminder of this shared fate last week, when terrorists massacred German tourists in Cairo, in broad daylight.

To better tackle the challenges of domestic prosperity and regional stability, Mubarak would do well to realize that Israel is in no way his rival. In fact, it is in many ways his natural ally. And the embodiment of such an alliance could have been Azzam Azzam, a modern Druse who worked in an economically healthy Egyptian enterprise.

Holding Azzam hostage to the level of Egypt's satisfaction with the state of the peace process is tantamount to Mubarak turning his back on the legacies of Anwar Sadat and Yitzhak Rabin. Is that what Mubarak wants?

No to dialogue

YOSEF GOELL

The confrontation between the haredi camp and the large majority of Israeli Jews who are secular, traditional or otherwise non-Orthodox has been heating up of late. There are increasing reports of actual physical clashes, as in the case of the haredi violence on Rehov Bar-Ilan and the Western Wall in Jerusalem, and political and value clashes over diverse issues such as representation of the Reform and Conservative movements on local religious councils, decent burial for the large number of halachically delegitimized self-

pugnacious approach is fully justified by the present turn of events, and especially by the newfound belligerence of the haredi camp.

My belief that stepped-up confrontation is preferable to dialogue is based primarily on my conviction that no meaningful dialogue is possible with the haredi camp, given the present state of mind of its rabbinical and political leaders. Honest dialogue is impossible, just as real compromise on issues which are in legitimate dispute has proven to be impossible.

The impossibility of such compromise was underscored in the recent dispute over the demand to close Rehov Bar-Ilan to traffic on Shabbat. The haredi side was forced to agree grudgingly to a smidgen less than a total capitulation by the non-haredim to their demands. But they were adamant in not agreeing to any quid pro quo in exchange for those concessions, declaring that it would be unthinkable for them to agree to anything that went counter to halacha.

The history of the confrontation has shown that haredim very often do bow to the need to go along with compromises, even when those compromises clearly violate halacha, but only when they are imposed by superior force.

And that is exactly what the secular camp should insist on doing: rather than engaging in dialogue, they should impose on the haredim reasonable arrangements for peaceful coexistence.

An honest dialogue, by its very definition, must be a two-way process that involves an exchange of information and different—often opposing—perceptions, and a mutual readiness to hear the other side and to take the risk of being influenced by the other's opinions.

This is not what haredi spokesmen mean when they call for dialogue. They want to conduct conversations for the purpose of missionizing their non-haredi coun-

The kulturkampf is a legitimate competition for the soul of Israel

declared Jews among us, competition for state budgets and—perhaps most important of all—control over the country's schools and over what they teach.

In short we have a full-blown kulturkampf on our hands. Its intensity has increased to such a degree that a growing number of people are expressing their concern and calling for a dialogue among the various segments of our population to forge a modicum of unity among Jews.

As a committed secular-humanistic Israeli Jew who has been following the ups and downs of this confrontation for decades, I believe the situation in this "struggle between cultures" will not get better before it gets worse. What is needed at this stage is not "dialogue" but a determination to step up the confrontation between the opposing camps for the express purpose of aggravating matters and shaking up the opposing leaders sufficiently to motivate them to seek a new level of modus vivendi out of sheer self-interest.

Admittedly, that sounds pretty bellicose. But I believe that such a

Dry Bones



terparts, very much like the sort of dialogue Christian missionaries like to pursue with their Jewish targets.

The way one of the most articulate spokesmen of the haredi point of view, Jonathan Rosenblum, put it recently on these pages is worth repeating. "Of necessity, the education of haredi children involves instilling them with a deep revisionism to all that is antithetical to Torah values in the surrounding society," he wrote, adding, "the danger for haredim in the negation of the surrounding society is that in the process they will forget that society is composed of fellow Jews... when haredim are consigned to their own enclaves and not allowed to speak to the broader public, the danger increases that they will forget about their audience."

What is apparently bad about totally shunning non-haredi soci-

ety is that it would put a serious crimp in the haredi missionizing reshuvva campaign.

As long as we all remain sane enough to shun violence, the kulturkampf is a perfectly legitimate competition for the heart and soul of Israel. The main battlefield on which this struggle against the haredi mission should be fought is in the schools.

Refusing to collude in the sort of bogus dialogue that is often proposed means that secular and traditional parents must insist on keeping rabbinical missionizers out of their children's classes or play-yards, just as the haredim would fight to the death at the very idea of anyone not from their immediate narrow sect seeking to influence their own children.

The writer comments on public affairs.

The haredi siege mentality

BERNARD WASSERSTEIN

Recent controversy about the mass exemptions from army service granted to yeshiva students (some of whom, apparently, have never set foot in a yeshiva) opens an old seismic fault line in Jewish history.

Secularists are outraged at the flagrant violations of the norms of civic conduct by some of the haredim—by their spineless filehoop from the public purse, by the violence and intimidation with which they seek to impose their values on the rest of us, by their preposterous claims to embody the most authentic traditions of Judaism, and by the corruption, hypocrisy and no-holds-barred wheeling and dealing that form the common coin of haredi political behavior.

Secular politicians, not only on the Left, but including Rafael Eitan on the Right and Amnon Rubinstein in the center, froth with indignation about these scandals.

Such problems are not limited to Israel. They arise in different ways in the Diaspora. Brooklyn, for example, can now boast its own equivalent to Aryeh Deri in the shape of a prominent Orthodox Jewish politician who has been indicted for financial jiggery-pokery.

Not only secularists are disgruntled in Britain, mainstream Orthodox as well as Reform Jews have risen to revolt—particularly

since the publication a few months ago of private correspondence that revealed the British Chief Rabbi, Jonathan Sacks, dancing on strings manipulated by a shadowy extremist, Rabbi Padwa of Stamford Hill.

The secularists are right to be angry about the duplicity and the brazen presumption of divine right of the holy men in our midst. And yet, indignation is not the best guide to understanding. Nor is outrage a policy.

Our goal must be somehow to integrate the haredim in civil society in Israel and in the community of *khal Yisrael* in the Diaspora. Our lodestones in this task must be compassion and truth-telling.

FIRST and foremost, we must recognize that the haredim everywhere feel—rightly—that their whole way of life is imperilled. Their defensive-aggressive behavior can be understood and dealt with only if we ourselves begin to appreciate the sense of dire threat that pervades the collective consciousness of the haredi world.

The reality, after all, is that the status quo is eroding constantly to the detriment of Orthodoxy. The privatization of life in our rapidly growing liberal economy, together with the increase of per-

sonal choice and freedoms that this inevitably entails, constantly break holes in the religious dike.

Absence of public transport on the Sabbath becomes meaningless when eighty percent of the population has access to private transport. Thanks to the miracle of satellite technology, silence on Israeli state broadcasting channels on Yom Kippur gives way in some homes to a cacophony from foreign stations and videorecorders.

Religious indoctrination in schools is outflanked by the assault on all our children of the most insidiously enticing cultural ideology of our age: MTV.

Hence the dread felt by the haredim. There is akin to the fear that savage societies exhibit when confronted with the mixture of alluring enchantment and imperious challenge of sophisticated modernity. Primitive fear often produces barbaric reaction. Hence the blind striking out with stones and wild imprecations; hence the desperation that justifies use of any means, however devious; hence the entrenchment in bastions where all the guns point out and all the windows face only in.

Compassion not indignation, is the first requisite in dealing with haredi fear.

The second is truth-telling. The

yeshivot—whether in Bnei Brak or in Brooklyn—are not educational establishments in any serious sense. Only the arm-twisting of politicians has secured these bodies recognition as "colleges"—in New York State as much as in Israel. Not one of these bodies would qualify for accreditation as an institution of higher learning according to a proper application of normal academic principles.

The fewer impressionable youngsters led astray by immersion in the intellectual mad of yeshiva "training" the better. Under contemporary conditions, *pitul* does not sharpen mental performance; more often, it numbs the mind and all too often leads to a lifetime of blinkered intellectual poverty.

We are left with a cruel dilemma. Truth-telling requires that we withhold undeserved academic recognition from the yeshivot. Yet compassion obliges us to make allowances for the fearful behavior of a group that feels itself under siege. Isaiah Berlin's famous insistence on the irreconcilability of moral values commands us to bear "the cry of the toad beneath the harrow, even when it may be right to plough over him."

The writer is president of the Oxford Center for Hebrew and Jewish Studies.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

INTELLECTUALLY HONEST

Sir, — It's about time that Peace Now and Meretz activists became more intellectually honest and stopped their persecution of Jews in favor of Arabs.

If we substitute the word "religious" for Arab and eliminated the word "east" in describing the Jerusalem in Galia Golan's comments reported on September 16 in "The Jews are here, and we're here to stay," we have the following comment describing the secular provocation of riding in cars on Bar Ilan Street on Shabbat:

"I feel anger and disgust,

because this is so clearly a provocative step," she said, "to come right into the middle of a (religious) neighborhood in the heart of Jerusalem... there's no point to it. It's quite clear that it's intended to cause trouble... it's irresponsible, and it's dangerous."

So I expect to see Ms. Golan and her Peace Now supporters clearly demonstrating against those who drive their cars on Bar Ilan Street on Shabbat!

AVRAHAM FRIEDMAN

Modi'in.

PHYSICAL IMPOSSIBILITY

Sir, — I would like to react to Avi Weiss's sensitive article "What makes a synagogue beautiful" (August 25) in which he discusses the problems of what he so charmingly denotes as the "physically challenged." Kupa Holim Clalit should take due notice of the message of this article. Rather than trying to attract potential clients by squandering enormous amounts of non-available money on eye-catching paint jobs, artificial plant decorations, and the like, they should provide

humane entrances to their clinics (i.e. the Linn Medical Center in Haifa) enabling the old, sick and infirm to enter to receive the medical care they need. They should provide each floor with conveniences instead of making it a physical impossibility to reach them by descending a flight of stairs.

PROF. DR. MARGE E. LANDSBERG

Haifa.

ENMITY OF THEIR CRIME

Sir, — In answer to Fran Goldstein's letter "Abandoned" (September 14) regarding the convictions of Moshe Feiglin and Shmuel Sackett for sedition, she seems to be completely unaware of the enormity of their crime.

"Sedition" according to Webster's dictionary is "conduct against an established government seeking to overthrow it by unlawful means; conduct tending to treason."

Israel is a democracy with a democratically elected government. Sedition is a crime against the entire nation which voted for the government in power through their votes.

There are many people who may disagree with the way the government is conducted, but in a democracy, you work for early elections or you lobby for your ideas. The belief of any group that the government is acting wrongly does not give it the right to use violence against it.

EVE SHORR

Haifa.

FROM OUR ARCHIVES

60 years ago: On September 22, 1937, *The Palestine Post* reported the funeral of Thomas G. Masaryk, Czechoslovakia's first president and a great friend of the Jewish people.

About 8,000 persons visited the Western Wall on the first two days of Succot using the new road leading through the Armenian Quarter and Batei Mahaseh, avoiding the narrow and congested streets of the old route.

Austrian Jews were greatly perturbed at the publication of an order foreshadowing the revision of all certificates of naturalization granted since 1920.

The Egged cooperative arranged an express service on the new Tel Aviv-Haifa road which reduced the distance

between the towns from 170 to 108 kilometers.

50 years ago: On September 22, 1947, *The Palestine Post* reported that a British Army sergeant was fatally injured by Arab terrorists near the Lod Airport.

A taxi which had been used by the underground had been forfeited to the government.

At the UN General Assembly the Moslem states favored the UNSCOP majority report on Palestine, but refused to commit themselves awaiting the lead from major powers.

Great Britain announced a major cut in her armed forces.

25 years ago: On September 22, 1972, *The Jerusalem Post*

reported that Amihai Paglin, former Irgun Zvai Leumi chief operations officer, was held on suspicion of being in possession of illegal arms which were to be smuggled into the US by the Jewish Defense League to start a terror campaign against Arabs.

In Jerusalem it was announced that if the Lebanese government was unable—or unwilling—to prevent the return of terrorists into Fatahland, Israel might undertake regular patrols deep into Lebanese territory.

Alfred Frauenknecht, the Swiss engineer who was jailed for transmitting plans for Mirage aircraft to Israel, was freed from prison in Switzerland after serving a year and a half of the three-year sentence.

Alexander Zvielli

throw up her hands and swoop out.

THROWING up her hands won her points for frankness. It turned out otherwise would have been a public relations disaster into something of a muted victory for candor. But let's remember that the Clinton administration is no innocent bystander here. It was Clinton who had the Oslo treaty signed not in Oslo or the Middle East but in the White House lawn. It was Clinton who put the weight and power of the United States behind Oslo, even to the point of trying to affect the outcome of an Israeli election lest Netanyahu, the Oslo skeptic, win.

If the secretary of state really wants to be known for her candor, she might say that she is absenting herself from the peace process that we have so slavishly supported—that she profusely praised during her very visit—because it was a mirage, a means of temporizing, a success only insofar as it dealt with the small. It fatally put off the large, and offered no real way to get there.

Candor? Let Secretary Albright admit that the reason the Middle East is ready to explode is because too many—including the Clinton administration—put full faith in a process that, built on hope and avoidance, has now reached a dead end.

(Washington Post Writers Group)



Sunday, September 21, 1997

Vol. CXLVI—No. 50,922

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Pipe Dreams

A Perilous New Contest for the Next Oil Prize



An oil rush is on in remote Azerbaijan, where the Soviet Union left immense fields largely undeveloped in favor of more secure areas in Siberia. Rigs from the turn of the century still stand in Baku, Azerbaijan's capital.

By STEPHEN KINZER

IN donating \$300,000 to Democratic Party organizations during the 1996 campaign, an ambitious businessman named Roger E. Tamraz sought access to President Clinton and other senior officials so he could ask them to support his project for a new oil pipeline from the Caspian Sea.

Last week Mr. Tamraz's efforts to buy access to the White House emerged as a key issue in Washington's campaign finance investigations. But in the drama now unfolding around the Caspian, Mr. Tamraz is a bit player and \$300,000 a laughably small sum. The big players are nations including Russia, Iran and the United States, companies like Amoco, Pennzoil and Exxon and lobbyists with names like Kissinger, Halg, Baker and Brzezinski. They and every shark east of Suez have recognized that over the next decades, the greatest of games will be played around the Caspian.

Forget mutual funds, commodity futures and corporate mergers. Forget South African diamonds, European currencies and Thai stocks. The most concentrated mass of untapped wealth known to exist anywhere is in

the oil and gas fields beneath the Caspian and the lands around it, regions at best dimly familiar to even the most assiduous newspaper readers.

The stakes are enormous; the value of the vast reserve, capable of fueling the industrial world for years to come, is measured in trillions of dollars, and foreign companies are expected to invest \$50 billion or more merely to extract it.

The strategic implications of this bonanza hypnotize Western security planners as completely as the finances transfix oil executives. Once Caspian oil begins flowing, they dare to dream, they will never again have to kowtow to OPEC or maneuver to prevent oil-thirsty nations from dealing with Iran and Iraq.

Corporations and Clans

With that relief, however, will undoubtedly come new troubles, for the competition involves not only governments and oil companies, but also warlords and clan chiefs who control or move through the remote regions where the pipelines needed to bring the treasure to market might be built.

Depending on where the lines are laid, power over the West's energy supply may fall to Chechen rebels, irredentist Armenians, government-connected cliques of

Russian or Turkish gangsters, Iranian mullahs, Kurdish guerrillas or mercurial chieftains of the Avars, Lezgins, Swanetians and other Caucasian ethnic groups that nurse ancient grievances of which the outside world knows almost nothing.

"All the options are complicated, and none is trouble-free because they all either pass through politically unstable areas, involve high costs because of distance and terrain, or are politically risky because they offend the sensibilities of one or another of the regional powers," Rosemarie Forsythe, an American diplomat who specializes in international energy issues, wrote last year.

That there is oil beneath Azerbaijan has been known for centuries. The 13th-century explorer Marco Polo reported that springs here bubbled with black goo that was "good to burn." Between 1880 and 1910 the Rockefeller, Rothschild and Nobel families made fortunes here. In World War II Azerbaijani oil fueled the Red Army, and Baku, the Azerbaijani capital, was a great prize that Hitler tried but failed to capture.

Over the entire Soviet period, however, only modest amounts of oil were produced here as the Soviets preferred to develop fields in Siberia and other parts of Slavic Russia rather than invest in peripheral Muslim republics. But certainly they did not realize that beneath the Caspian is not a pool or lake of oil, but an ocean.

The proven reserves beneath Azerbaijan's portion of the Caspian total 17 billion barrels, the equivalent of the North Sea field. Geologists believe that at least 20 billion to 30 billion barrels more remain to be found. The other oil-rich corner of the Caspian belongs to Kazakhstan, with proven reserves of 10 billion barrels and perhaps three times that not yet found.

Some specialists in Baku believe these figures may be low. Estimates of total reserves in the Caspian and the lands around it run up to 200 billion barrels, enough to meet the entire energy needs of the United States for 30 years or more.

After declaring independence from the crumbling Soviet Union in 1991, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan fell into turmoil from which they are now beginning to emerge. Foreign oil companies began large-scale investment in the region in September 1994, when the Azerbaijani state oil company signed what was called the "contract of the century," a \$7.4 billion agreement with a consortium of 10 companies from the United States, Britain, Norway, Russia, Turkey and Saudi Arabia.

Four more contracts have since been signed, with French, Italian, Japanese and Iranian companies among the new arrivals. Mobil paid \$1.1 billion for a stake in

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Das Kapital
The two faces of modern Communism.

By Roger Cohen

2

Taking Medicine on Faith

So many products, so little time to test them.

By Philip J. Hilts

3

Direct Inaction

Now, the politics of shock is merely boring.

By Carey Goldberg

4



Here's Food for Thought

Cutting Waste Can Be a Waste

By PETER PASSELL

YOU'VE probably always suspected that Vice President Al Gore was a charter member of the Clean Plate Club — that when his mom warned that every lima bean ending up in the garbage was a lima bean less for the starving children of Africa or Appalachia, little Al took it to heart. Now there's proof.

A recent Department of Agriculture study estimated that 96 billion of the 356 billion pounds of food available for human consumption in America were lost somewhere between farmers' fields and household disposals. In response, Mr. Gore and Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman last week sponsored a "national summit on cleaning and food recovery" in Washington, with the goal of squeezing enough waste out of the distribution system to feed an extra 450,000 hungry Americans.

Skeptics

So what's wrong with that? After all, only the Grinch who stole Christmas could object to efforts to recover the discarded bounty of the harvest. Check that: along with the Grinch, many economists view "waste not, want not" campaigns of any sort with jaundiced eye.

Avoiding waste has long been a middle-class reflex — a reaction, perhaps, to the conspicuous consumption and indolence of the leisure class, whose cultural domi-



Is wasting food a bad thing? Sure, but economically it sometimes makes sense.

nance was eclipsed in the Industrial Revolution. And it was certainly reinforced by the Great Depression. But in an era of abundance, one in which time and labor are more precious than the mass-produced goods of modern farms and factories, economists argue that prices should rule.

From this perspective the decision to wrap and store the dinner leftovers — or to recycle the Sunday newspaper — should depend on whether there is a better way to spend the time and effort. "There's an optimal level of food waste," insists Robert Frank of Cornell University, "just as there is an optimal level of dust in your house."

Cheap Eats

Indeed, Robert Balm of the American Enterprise Institute suggests that the Vice President has it exactly wrong — that waste is a sign of societal success rather than failure. "If ever there was a non-issue this is it," he argued. "The primary reason so much gets tossed is that America has the cheapest food in the world."

According to the Department of Agriculture, a bit of food is lost when it is processed or shipped, a bit more when retailers discard spoiled or out-of-date perishables. The lion's share, though, is deep-frozen by restaurants, commercial food services and families. In 1985, ac-

Continued on Page 3

mentality

process?

The World

To Deplore Capitalism Isn't Always To Fight It

By ROGER COHEN

FOR Karl Marx, the right approach to private property was simple: abolish it. But from Beijing to Paris, two cities where Communists are in government, the question of how to deal with property has become a complicated one, exposing the strangely divergent hues of Communism today.

Announcing the sale of more than 10,000 Chinese state industries to shareholders, President Jiang Zemin this month took his country's Market-Leninism to a new apogee. The measures — though dressed in official gobbledegook about "public ownership" — clearly had nothing to do with Communism as Marx understood it.

They did, however, have much to do with the global market's power to absorb 1.2 billion Chinese in the quest to get rich and with Lenin's exploitation of Marxism to arrive at something unimaginable by Marx: the dictatorial concentration of power. For Mr. Jiang, China's future appears to lie in a bizarre marriage of Leninist expediency and Silicon Valley worker-ownership: Mao meets Microsoft by way of "Deng Xiaoping theory."

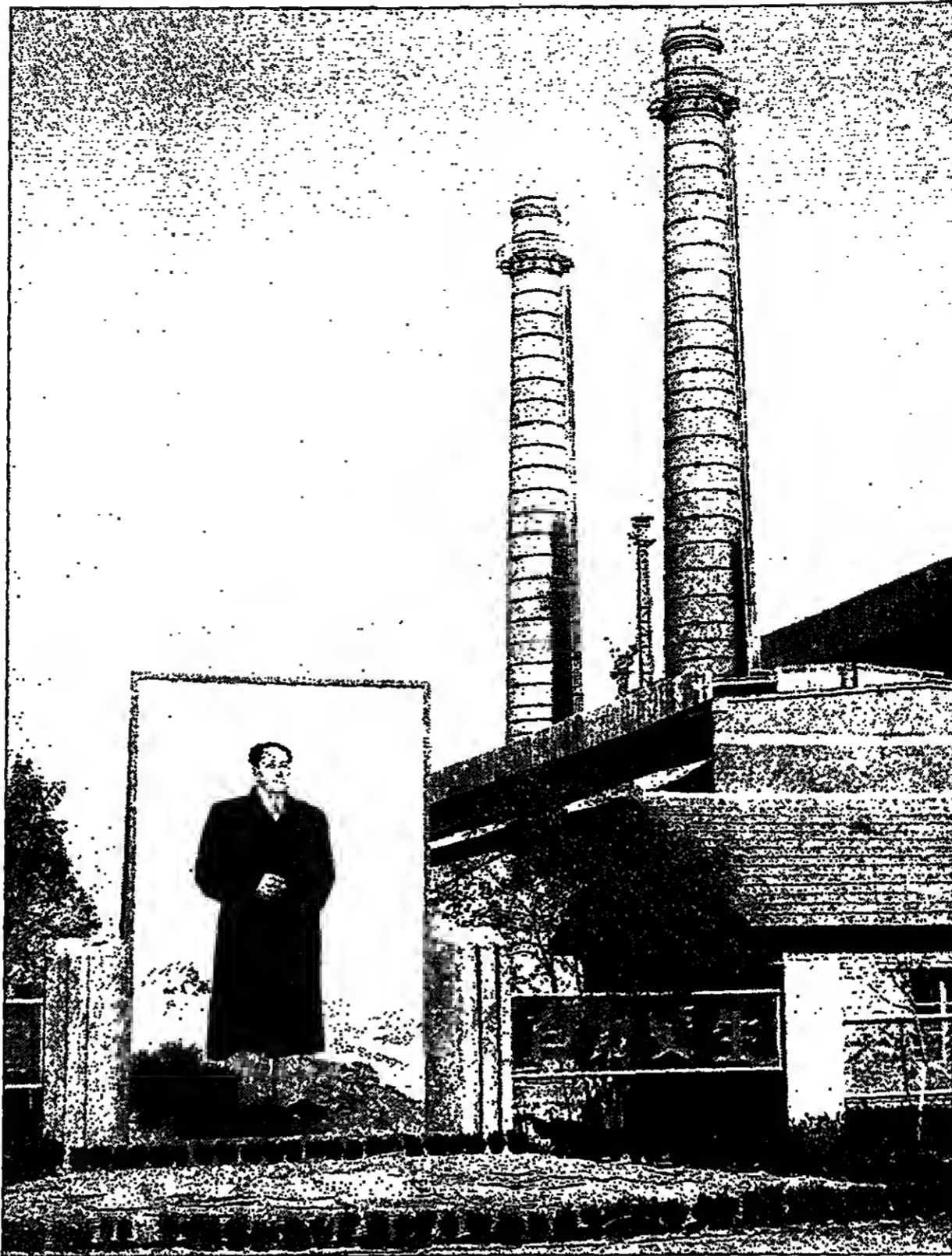
Four days after the 15th Chinese Party congress opened with its message that state ownership was bunk, Robert Eue, the leader of the French Communist Party, told a large rally in Paris that it might be time to accept the principle that some of France's state-owned industries should admit "small minority stakes of private capital." A wave of boing greeted the suggestion.

From Marx to Mishmash

Privatization remains anathema to French Communists even as it is embraced — albeit with semantic obfuscation — by the Chinese and energetically pursued in all frankness, if with some fiddling, by the former Communists of central and eastern Europe.

Communism has come a long way since the Manifesto published 149 years ago by Marx and Friedrich Engels. It no longer poses a threat to capitalism or to America, but it has survived gulags, barbaric social engineering and the collapse of the Soviet Union. In China and a few other parts of the world it still retains the aura of theology, as the debates this month on how to enshrine the thoughts of Deng illustrated.

En route, however, political Communism, as opposed to academic Marxism, has shed its original content to survive as an extraordinary mishmash, a late 20th-



Socialist unreality: Marxism lives, but Mao, sentry at the Wuhan ironworks in 1968, wouldn't recognize it.

century potpourri marked by the loss of the very quality that distinguished Marx: the immanent potency, the singular danger, of ideas vividly expressed.

Marx urged the proletariat to wrest "all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class."

He then postulated that because political power "is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing

another," and because the proletariat's victory would sweep away "the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally," the state would wither away and a new society emerge.

Of course, it did not happen. In countries from the Soviet Union to North Korea, wherever private property was abolished, state ownership rather than collective, public ownership took its place. Far from withering away, the state extended its tentacles, and the Commu-

nist Party became the vehicle not for the proletariat's victory but for the transference of power to what Milovan Djilas of Yugoslavia scathingly called "the new class" of apparatchiks. In China, it is those apparatchiks who still hold sway today, maneuvering with ingenuity along economic lines broadly backed by the United States that may prolong, rather than condemn, their political dictatorship in the post-cold-war era.

In the West, by contrast, Communists find themselves battling to defend the very workers' rights — social security, free medical care, unemployment benefits and pensions — with which the bourgeoisie maneuvered to stave off Marx's predicted revolution.

"Communism has lost every sort of bearing," said Jonathan Eyal, the director of studies at London's Royal United Services Institute. "In China, it is essentially a mafia offering rising prosperity in exchange for political submission. In the West, it has given up all talk of seizing the commanding heights of the economy in exchange for a rearguard action against the sweeping advance of market forces."

Communist Contrasts

Indeed, the current campaigns of the people who still call themselves Communists in China and the West are, in many ways, diametrically opposed. In China, it is Realpolitik and the co-option of globalization to Chinese ends that drives the Communist Party. In France and Italy, the defense of what is sometimes called "the European model of civilization" against the pressures of globalization is of primary concern.

"We absolutely condemn the latest Chinese decisions," said Ramon Mantovani, an Italian Communist and member of Parliament. "They illustrate the way in which the Chinese have become one of the bulwarks of American-driven globalization, the very force that is threatening European workers."

Or, put another way, why should a multinational pay heavy social-security charges for Italian employees when it can set up in China and pay almost nothing?

Of course, globalization would have come as no surprise to Marx. Even in 1848, he noted that modern industry "has established the world-market." He was, as Robert Bowles, an economics professor at the University of Massachusetts noted, a "very acute observer of the workings of capitalism." But what Marx never predicted was that Communism would take hold in pre-industrial societies like Russia and China, rather than Germany or Britain, where the processes he described as preconditions for Communism were far advanced. By an odd twist, Communism became a prelude to capitalism rather than the force that overthrew it.

What practice, rather than theory, has shown since Marx's death is that Communism has a great deal of trouble reforming itself — witness Dubcek, Khrushchev and Gorbachev. Thus if Mr. Jiang pulls off China's current lurch, it will amount to a first, if the result can still credibly be called Communism. Practice has also shown the irrepressible vitality of capitalism and its inherent cruelty; the forces that European Communists are fighting are thus very powerful ones.

The views of property and society held by the Communists of Paris and Beijing are quite distinct; but in both cases, the barricades are defensive ones.

Disunited Kingdom

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

GOADED by the modernizing passion of Prime Minister Tony Blair, Britain has embarked on a program of constitutional reform — of basic change in the structure of the country and its government — that has no parallel in this century. The question is this: Will it create a more nimble, more efficient system, closer to the people, or will it create more layers of bureaucracy and lead to a Disunited Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland?

British government has been strongly centralized since the Act of Union of 1707, more so since Margaret Thatcher weakened local government a decade ago. But now it is adopting a more federal system.

Scotland voted overwhelmingly this month to create its first Parliament since the dawn of the 18th century, with broad authority in many areas and the right to set taxes within narrow limits. By a much narrower margin, Wales voted on Thursday to create a less powerful parliament, its first since the 15th century.

Mr. Blair has promised London its first elected mayor ever, if voters of the city agree in a referendum scheduled next May, and he has hinted at establishing regional bodies around England to deal with local issues.

Northern Ireland will doubtless be given a form of self-government if the current negotiations bring an end to the long civil war there. And, of course, the most publicized jolt to Britain's sense of nationhood is its orgy of speculation about the future of the monarchy since the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, in a car accident.

Critics of the devolution process argue that it will only exacerbate the strains that already exist among Britain's component parts. With assemblies in Scotland and Wales, they ask, will English voters tolerate continued subsidies for the Scottish and Welsh economies and over-representation for Scotland and Wales in the Parliament at Westminster?

The Scottish National Party, which backed devolution, sees it as a halfway house on the road to independence. Mr. Blair's supporters, however, say his program is deeply conservative. By giving Scottish and Welsh voters a stronger voice in their affairs, his supporters say, he is binding them more closely to the nation. Under the new dispensation, Scots will not confront the anomaly they faced under

Mrs. Thatcher, when they chose mostly Labor members of Parliament to represent them in London, only to have their voices lost in the roar of Tory majorities.

Scots had shown "the courage and confidence to trust themselves," said Mr. Blair, sounding out unlike the Republican Presidents (now joined by Bill Clinton, a Democrat) in arguing that the best government is the government that is closest to the people. It is good politics, at least in the short term; however tradition-steeped the British may be, they share a feeling with many Americans that their governmental institutions are creaky and inefficient.

Devolution is nothing new for the British. Scotland, England and Northern Ireland compete separately in many international sporting events. Scotland already has its own legal code and school system. Before Mrs. Thatcher, local government in Britain was muscular and innovative (and Labor-dominated and free-speeding, which is why she cut it back).

The nation is bound together by language (though other languages are preferred in parts of Britain's Celtic fringe); a common passport (though it has been homogenized with those of the rest of the European Union), and a common economy. But most of all it is bound together by

the monarchy. Despite wide criticism of the Royal Family in the wake of Diana's death — 39 percent of respondents in a national poll said they thought less of it — there is little support for doing away with the monarchy. In that same poll, 73 percent said they wanted it to continue. Prince Charles is not popular, but that does not mean that he cannot become popular.

His mother, Queen Elizabeth II, has made concessions to the public will, such as her agreement in 1992 to pay income tax, and her belated decision to honor Diana in a number of ways. Charles's biggest problem is the aging palace courtiers who habitually resist change, and in his forthcoming struggle with them to modernize the monarchy, it is now clear that he will have the unflinching support of Mr. Blair as national modernizer-in-chief.

If they succeed, the sovereign could again provide a rallying point for increasingly self-governing countries, as James I did briefly as king of both Scotland and England from 1603 to 1625, before the outbreak of civil war.

These issues are boary and contentious ones in the British Isles.



Wales voted yes, in two languages.

A Perilous Contest for a New Prize

Continued From Page 1

Kazakhstan's biggest oil field, followed quickly by Russia's state-owned oil conglomerate; Malaysian and Chinese interests are negotiating for the second-largest field.

In neighboring Turkmenistan, American and British companies have bought permission to search for oil in an 8,000-square-mile tract along the Caspian coast.

The first consortium, the Azerbaijan International Operating Company, is already drilling in the Caspian and expects to begin producing oil before the end of this year. The main competition now is over pipeline routes, and the outcome will have far-reaching political as well as economic effects. Whoever controls the route or routes will be able to count on steady income from transit fees and to exert pressure on both producing and consuming countries.

"If you can't get the oil out, it's so good to anyone," an American oil analyst in Baku said. "But every way of getting it out presents its own set of problems."

The first flow of oil is to be sent through an existing pipeline that runs north from Baku through Chechnya to the Russian port of Novorossiysk on the Black Sea. Russian leaders would like to expand this line so it can be used for the far larger flows to come, but to do so they must cooperate with Chechnya's secessionist rebels.

Russian and Chechen leaders finally reached an accord this month on splitting the transit fees, but reflecting their mistrust, the Russians immediately announced that they want to build a new alternative route through North Ossetia, a region that is marginally more stable politically.

The only existing alternative pipeline does not run through Russia at all, but westward from Baku to the Black Sea port of Supsa in Georgia. It passes through potentially explosive regions of Georgia, but Georgian officials say they can guarantee its security.

Tanker Traffic

Once the oil reaches Supsa, however, what should be done with it? One option is to ship it in tankers across the Black Sea, through the Bosphorus into the Mediterranean. But Turkish officials strenuously object to such heavy tanker traffic because of the environmental risks.

The Turks propose to build a 650-mile pipeline from Supsa across eastern Turkey to their port of Ceyhan on the Mediterranean. But some oil executives worry about the time and expense of building such a pipeline, and they cannot ignore the risk that Kurdish guerrillas in eastern Turkey might try to attack it.

Another possibility would be to ship or pipe oil from Supsa across the Black Sea to Bulgaria or Romania, sending it by pipeline

from there to a Greek port. Azerbaijan's president, Heydar Aliyev, has even suggested that he would consider a pipeline through Armenia if the two countries can settle their dispute over the occupied Nagorno-Karabakh region.

When oil planners look at maps, however, they cast their eyes on a tantalizing alternative: simply tie Baku to the existing pipeline network in neighboring Iran and send the oil south to the Persian Gulf.

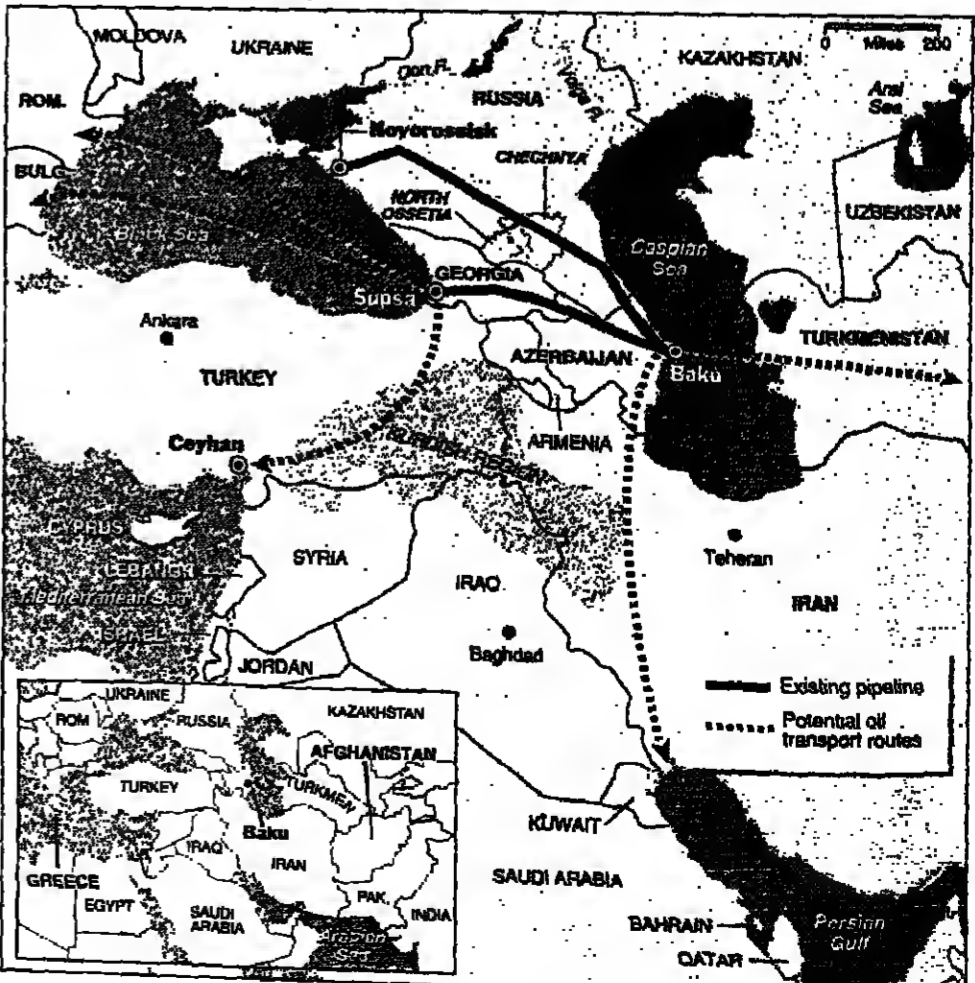
This proven route leads to ports already equipped for shipping oil and avoids the baffling range of political, ethnic, national and religious conflicts bubbling across the Caucasus. But the United States, which rejects virtually all cooperation with Iran, strongly opposes it. Some influential figures in Washington are quietly suggesting that it may be time to reappraise policy toward Iran, particularly after the election there in May of a relatively moderate president, but they have not had any visible success.

An even more daring possibility is to run a pipeline from Turkmenistan south to the open sea through Afghanistan, where the ruthlessly fundamentalist and anti-Western Taliban movement is in control. At least one American company, Unocal, has reportedly

In its quest for energy, the United States is being drawn into yet another of the world's trouble spots.

held pipeline talks with Taliban officials. Sitting at the heart of this conundrum is the president of the Azerbaijani state oil monopoly, Natik Aliyev. From his window in a stately old Baku office building, Mr. Aliyev, no relation to the president of his country, can gaze out on the Caspian and ruminate on the black gold beneath it.

"There are so many interlocking interests in this region, not to mention among outside powers and the oil companies themselves," Mr. Aliyev mused. "Our job is to balance them and still protect our own interests. Believe me, we don't underestimate the importance or complexity of it all."



The Nation

Medicine Remains as Much Art as Science

By PHILIP J. HILTS

AMERICANS have become used to the idea that medical treatments should be carefully tested to assure that they work and are safe. So there was surprise the last two weeks as two widely accepted practices were upended by researchers after they had affected the lives of millions of people.

In one case, the popular diet drugs Redux and Pondimin were pulled off the market because of studies suggesting they may cause serious heart problems. The Food and Drug Administration had agonized for years before approving the drugs only for treating the obese. But soon doctors were writing more than 18 million prescriptions a year, many for people who just wanted to lose a few pounds.

In the second case, new research into Sudden Infant Death Syndrome discredited a 25-year-old theory that the syndrome runs in families and therefore can be guarded against. The theory — based on several deaths in one family that turned out to be infanticide — led doctors to miss other killings, while creating an industry that profited from parents' fears: baby monitors.

In both situations, follow-up researchers eventually found something that the original research did not and caught the trouble. But in fact, the rigorous testing of medical treatments is a recent innovation, coming largely in the last 40 years, and it is only in the area of drugs that extensive testing for new entries into the market are now routine.

The effort to test treatments has never caught up with the large number of procedures, drugs and devices that continue to be created at a fast pace in the health-conscious end of the century. The result, some medical experts estimate, is that half of all surgical operations and other medical procedures remain without strict scientific evidence of their efficacy and safety.

Assessing treatments is complicated, of course, because one that is effective for some people does not necessarily work for everybody all the time. What is clear, the experts say, is that more evidence is needed, and that people should realize that much of medicine is art rather than science.

"If one type of surgery ends up with a 1 percent death rate, and another ends up with a 10 percent death rate, shouldn't patients know that?" asked Dr. Robert Brook, head of the Rand Corporation's health studies program and a doctor at the University of California at Los Angeles Medical School. "We need to have this kind of data."

Proof Can Be in the Practice

Over centuries, doctors have moved medicine forward by experiment and judgment, and in many cases elaborate proof is unnecessary. Removing an inflamed and infected appendix, for example, is simple, it works, and further proof is probably not needed, experts say. But which surgery is best to combat clogged arteries of the heart? Are coronary bypass operations the best approach for people of different ages and in different states of health? Only experience, with large numbers of patients can answer such questions well.



Two diet drugs known together as phen-fen became the basis of entire weight-loss clinics even though the safety of the drugs in combination hadn't been studied.

Even the practice of rigorously studying new drugs has brought constant attacks on the Food and Drug Administration, which faces bills in the current Congress that would reduce the agency's already limited power to review drugs. In the case of Redux and Pondimin, for example, after approving them for use in narrow circumstances, the F.D.A. could do nothing about doctors prescribing those diet pills with another in a combination known as fen-phen (for fenfluramine, or Pondamin, and phentermine, an amphetamine-like drug) that some weight-loss clinics based their entire practices on.

The besieged F.D.A. is the same agency that President Clinton wants to give the added burden of controlling tobacco should proposed regulations for the tobacco industry go into effect.

Scientific testing came first to drugs, then to medical devices, beginning in the 1950's. But there are far too many drugs and devices to have tested them all, so the Federal Government adopted the approach of testing the newest drugs and devices, but usually not those that were

in use and seemed safe by anecdotal accounts. Among treatments for children, perhaps only 20 percent have good data behind them, Dr. Brook said.

In the past half-dozen years, however, a new field and a new Federal agency, the Agency for Health Care Policy and Research, have been established to try to extend rigorous testing from drugs and devices to medical procedures as well. With the coming of managed care, there was great hope that research on medical practices would increase greatly as researchers in the "outcomes movement," as it is called, began to compare different treatments among large numbers of patients to determine which were the most effective and which should be abandoned.

New Products Outpace Research

"But the outlook is dismal," Dr. Brook said, because just as the new agency began work with a few tens of millions of dollars — spare change by Washington stand-

ards — a flood of new treatments, devices and drugs has kept the researchers behind.

"I think we are losing ground now," Dr. Brook said. "There is so much new biomedical technology that we are not even holding our own" in trying to study both new and old practices.

Dr. Paul D. Cleary of the Harvard Medical School, an expert in health quality issues, said: "On the plus side, we are ahead of where we were 20 years ago, and there has been an explosion of research. But it's true we may not be keeping pace with the new technologies."

Dr. Allan Brandt, an expert in the history of medicine, said there is a long way to go before the issues are sorted out. "Right now, there are health plans that are willing to pay for chiropractic, acupuncture and biofeedback, while others won't cover bone marrow transplants because they are experimental," he said. "And there is also the problem that, when we begin to decide what we think works in medicine, that may not be the same as what people want."

New Prize

In its quest for energy, the United States is being drawn into another of the world's trouble spots.

On Senate Stage, a Star at Last

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

WASHINGTON WITH hrazen candor, a safty multimillionaire named Roger E. Tamraz has suddenly thrown open a window for the American public onto the dense, shadowy, treasure-trove workings of campaign fund-raising, the empowerment engine of modern American politics.

Just when Congressional investigators seemed to be burying the scandal-steeped subject in rafts of bit-player witnesses and lawyerly joustings, Mr. Tamraz made a cocky entrance to stage center last week and managed to strike a match in a gas-filled room.

"Don't we all, as we grow older, have nothing more to give than a buck?" he asked rhetorically, bragging in vivid detail before a Senate panel about how expensive but inevitable it can be to buy access to American politicians. Providing, he stressed, a citizen keeps his wits and checkbook about him. Just so, Mr. Tamraz testified, he wrote \$300,000 in Democratic checks last year to circumvent, in one way or another, White House warnings that he was too "shady" a business promoter to be allowed to personally approach President Clinton.

Following Rules

"I go to the outer limits," he explained of a hipartisan generosity that one senator equated with "the gaming" of Government. "Why not?" responded the far-from-contrite Mr. Tamraz. "You set the rules and we're following the rules. This is politics as usual."

Summoned as a fat cat to be passively belled in the name of the commonweal, Mr. Tamraz instead showed the noir-star power the hearings had lacked. Visions of Oliver L. North and John W. Dean 3d danced in Republican heads depressed that the inquiry had as yet failed to strike telegenic pay dirt.

"I think next time I'll give \$600,000," said Mr. Tamraz, offering his best as an intuitive celebrity. Far from apologizing, he disarmed the working politicians assembled before him by praising them as from a class he finds just as loyal as he is generous. In the great scheme of democracy, Mr. Tamraz testified, he considered his checkbook far more potent than his unused ballot franchise.



Why did Roger E. Tamraz give the Democrats \$300,000 last year? "To get access," he testified.

"If you do a favor for a politician, he won't forget you," he rhapsodically told the Governmental Affairs Committee. Listening to the ambitious business promoter talk gleefully of buying access, the senators' outrage seemed threaded with sheepish-

A fat cat emerges from the shadows, evoking visions of John Dean and Oliver North.

ness at the fact they themselves must invest much of their time seeking out campaign contributors like Mr. Tamraz.

With bemusement at the very question, he confirmed that of course he spent the \$300,000 to get White House access to the nation's primary politician. "It's the only reason — to get access," he declared, sparing the pros the "Duh" exclamation in de-

scribing his non-repentance over anteing up so blatantly.

Sad to say, Mr. Tamraz was just the sort of witness the meandering Senate hearings have needed, a buzzing fly from the White House wall: a self-promoting, pipeline-promoting oil entrepreneur. In one of a half-dozen White House visits, he was able to gain Mr. Clinton's attention for a previously rejected scheme for a \$2 billion Caspian Sea oil monopoly. Proud of a lifetime of influence-grooming, Mr. Tamraz confirmed that, yes, he enlisted Central Intelligence Agency officers, Energy Department officials and the Democratic party leadership in a tattoo of White House phone calls.

By the end of Mr. Tamraz's performance, the question of proving that a firm quid pro quo was extended by the White House seemed somehow secondary: his appearance established the overarching fact that indomitable influence-seekers like Mr. Tamraz are among the hall fellows well met of American politics.

"He's very smooth; he's very believable," said an earlier witness, Sheila Heslin, a former national security staff expert in the Clinton White House, clearly shocked that Mr. Tamraz paid so many visits to the White

House despite her warnings that he was a global braggart who could scandalize the President with claims of Administration influence. "It's only when you check him out that you find there's no there there," said Ms. Heslin, who, Mr. Tamraz griped, only gave him, a generous American businessman, 20 minutes of her time before deciding he was, as one Senator put it, only a beguiling "hustler."

The irrepressible Mr. Tamraz portrayed himself as a patriotic mogul of fortune interested in protecting America's oil supplies, not monopolizing a lucrative pipeline. He seemed unfazed when a Senator informed him that "Wanted by Interpol" had flashed on TV screens below his talking head a day earlier as he defended his speckled Mideast business dealings.

Still, badly as he was portrayed, Roger Tamraz stood out in the hearings for a certain kind of courage.

"With all his craziness, he was the only controversial fund-raiser who had the guts to come forward and talk," said Harold Damelin, the committee counsel who tracked Mr. Tamraz's White House access. "Think of all the others who have taken the Fifth or fled the country. Tamraz had the brass to cooperate."

Cutting Waste Can Be a Waste

Continued From Page 1

ording to the department's estimates based on its surveys, 11.3 billion pounds of fruit, 15.9 billion pounds of veggies, 8.2 billion pounds of meat, poultry and fish and 17.4 billion pounds of fluid milk never made it from refrigerator (or plate) to mouth. Enough flour, sugar and margarine end up in landfills to supply the nation's youth with Twinkies.

Clean Plate Club

According to the Department, consumers too often needlessly and unwisely discard safe, tasty perishables. They fail to finish oversized portions in restaurants. They are prone to losing half-used containers in the recesses of their cupboards and refrigerators.

One answer, the Department primarily suggests, is education: "Improved meal planning and purchasing skills can reduce the discard of food items."

Another, directed at restaurants, is better handling in mass preparation: "Eggs taken out of their shells by processing machines may mean lower rates of processing loss."

Yet another is charity. The Washington summit highlighted the efforts of organizations like FoodChain, Foodservice and Second Harvest, which collect leftovers from restaurants and food services to feed the poor (much as City Harvest does in New York).

Being Good Isn't Bad

For his part, Mr. Frank wonders whether people who make \$30 an hour at the office should spend their Saturdays whipping up brownies for the P.T.A. or pasting stamps in booklets to trade for a classroom computer. "I've always hated the bake-sale concept — it's so much easier to give money."

He and other dismal scientists do concede the social value of good works — particularly when the beneficiaries include those doing the good works. "In our walled communities, it's too easy to lose sight of the fact that some people are hungry," said Mr. Frank. Besides, he notes, charities are better at cutting through the red tape of legal liability and food-inspection

systems — factors that inhibit for-profit organizations from funneling leftovers to the hungry.

But economists remain skeptical about relying on the gospel of thrift rather than on markets to induce consumers to conserve. "When coffee prices shot up in 1953, purchases of coffee went down by half — but consumption only fell by a quarter," said Thomas Schelling, an economist at the University of Maryland's School of Public Policy. Apparently people wasted less: they went to the trouble of brewing smaller pots more frequently when it became worth their time.

Lester Lave at Carnegie-Mellon University presses a parallel point: consumers determine how companies use resources. "McDonald's wastes potatoes every day so we can have our french fries fresh, hot and fast," he says, and most diners wouldn't have it any other way.

Save leftovers? Why, if there's a better use of time?

The one area where economists and the vanguard of the food bureaucracy seem to be in accord is in asking consumers to count the cost of disposal in their calculations of what to consume or recycle, and what to toss. Some 2,000 municipalities now charge for waste collection by the bag rather than by flat monthly fees, the Department of Agriculture notes with approval. And the result has been a cut in household solid waste (some of it food) ranging from 25 to 45 percent.

From the economists' perspective, the most insidious misunderstanding is the idea that eliminating waste is a key to ending poverty — that Al Gore's discarded lima beans (or socks) could have fed the famished or clothed the naked. Indeed, many see it as a cop-out, a way to transform clear societal obligations into murky individual responsibilities.

"If you want to feed the poor, give them food stamps," Mr. Hahn said.

The Nation

How Political Theater Lost Its Audience

By CAREY GOLDBERG

GREENPEACE is pruning itself back. Act Up has quieted down. People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals gets more attention lately with blushing bottom-baring by models than scarlet paint-splashing by protesters.

The Rev. Al Sharpton, who in his role as the ultimate underdog outsider used to give the impression of calling a fierce rally about twice a month, decided last week to contest his borderline defeat in the New York mayoral primary first by filing suit in Federal court.

And Operation Rescue is holding candidates for Congress.

From coast to coast, there are signs that in-your-face is out of style.

The protest groups known for turning American streets into political theaters, walking the fine line between civil disobedience and civic disturbance, are tending to come inside, into the halls of power. Or to shift to newer, more seductive or more sophisticated attention-getting techniques.

In some cases, they are still chaining themselves to factory gates or blocking traffic, but, unable to attract the press, they have become trees falling in a forest where nobody bears.

For a variety of reasons, say group members and political scientists, this is a period of eclipse in what is known in activist parlance as "direct action" work.

One factor, said Ann Northrop, a 10-year member of Act Up, the AIDS action group, is the nature of these political times, and the current, more receptive White House, with its penchant for feeling other people's pain: "When you get someone in office who's smarter about the rhetoric, it can take some of the steam out," she said. "You're attacking a marshmallow instead of a brick wall; that does change the dynamic entirely."

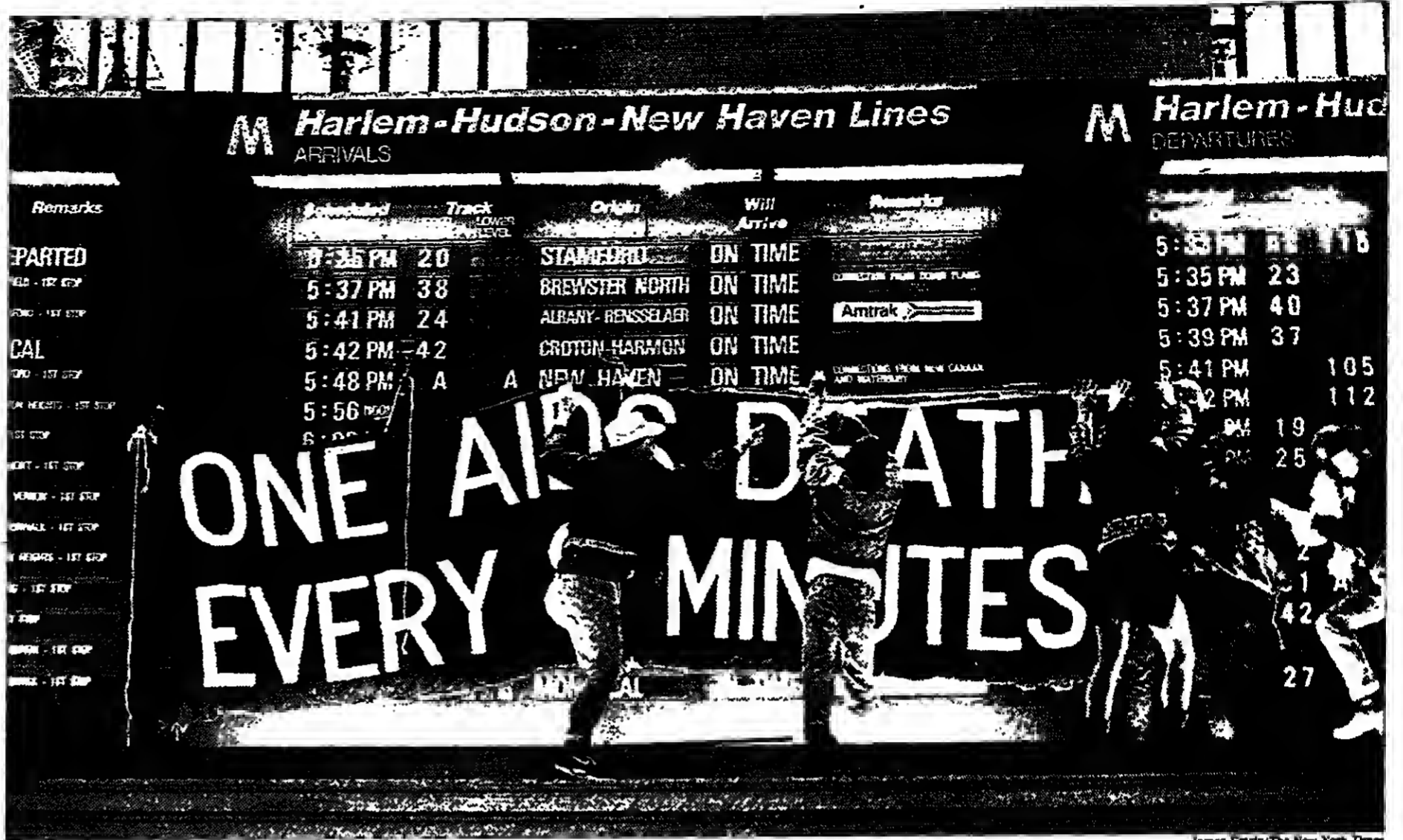
Kay Schlozman, a political science professor at Boston College, agreed that direct action is often the result of a sense of desperation and voicelessness. "In terms of guerrilla-type activity, some of that happens when interests feel most beleaguered," she said, "and I think this is a time when everyone's circling warily, but nobody is feeling they don't have a spokesman."

Ms. Schlozman and other analysts hypothesized about another factor: Traditionally, it has been young people who have been most attracted to direct action work, but the new generation is strikingly un-radical.

Betty H. Zisk, a professor at Boston University who has taught a course on political movements since the early 1980's, said she used to have "fiery students who were eager to go out and do field work with movements." Now, she said, "except for the gentlest of environmental activists and activists of the National Organization for Women, there are very few activists."

It also gets harder to get attention as tactics get repetitive. The first time Act Up dumped the ashes of AIDS victims on the White House lawn, for example, it drew broad attention; last year, the group did the same thing, Ms. Northrop said — but no one reported it.

Ingrid Newkirk, president of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, said the anti-fur, anti-meat, anti-cruelty group is always brainstorming for ways to gain attention, like its recent "turn your back on fur" campaign, in which top models mooned the cameras. "You just try everything," she said. "Obviously, glamour works, nudity works, like it or not — and I think that's



Act Up, for one, has gone quieter lately. But in 1991, group members sent Grand Central Terminal into chaos at rush hour one afternoon.

important to say — it's not as if you can choose. I'd rather a sensible argument would work, but more than anything, you have to touch somebody at a heart level."

The group continues its messier work, and is planning to drop buckets of animal guts outside furriers' stores and fashion runways in Chicago and New York, she said. But that does not seem to grab headlines anymore. "There are trends in coverage more than there are trends in activism," Ms. Newkirk said.

There is, however, one trend in activism that several people point to: that is a natural maturation process in which, having gained the attention they had sought by screaming and yelling, protest groups try to parlay it in a more businesslike way into change.

Greenpeace is shifting some of its organizational weight from its 10 field offices, which it is closing and replacing with mobile campaign teams, to Washington. Environmental historians noted that Greenpeace's downsizing seemed to fit into what is known as the third wave of environmental activism — which involves more inside-the-Beltway, sophisticated lobbying.

Act Up's decline is a special case because so many members died of AIDS. But surviving members, who continue to stage demonstrations protesting the high price of medicine and supporting needle exchanges, say Act Up had such success in changing AIDS policy that many members moved into the system they had fought.

Against the Law

Then there is the case of Operation Rescue. It and other aggressive anti-abortion groups, already trying to brush off any associations with the killings of several clinic workers, face a tactical challenge stemming from the 1984 Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act. The law made it a serious Federal crime to hinder abortions using threats, force or obstruction. Mass demonstrations and harassment outside clinics have declined noticeably, said Gloria Feldt, president of Planned Parenthood, whose clinics were frequent targets of Operation Rescue.

"It hasn't stopped them, but I do think their fellow travelers who were a little more faint of heart and don't

want to be put in jail are not willing to put themselves to that kind of legal risk," she said.

Operation Rescue has one central new tactic: it is fielding seven candidates, known as "the Patrick Henry Men," for Congress in 1998. Among them is Randall Terry, perhaps the best-known Operation Rescue activist, who is seeking the Republican nomination to oppose Representative Maurice Hinchey in upstate New York.

"They are not against violence — they just think it's a bad tactic at this time," said Dallas Blanchard, a professor at the University of West Florida who studies the anti-abortion movement. He said the group also seemed to be training its sights more on state-level lobbying to make abortions more difficult to obtain.

So if direct action, for so many reasons, is on the wane, what may replace it?

Mark Harrington, an AIDS advocate, had one intriguing idea: "I think guerrilla actions on the World Wide Web would be one thing that would work. They could pop up everywhere and be outrageous but not be illegal." And, he said, "they would get everyone's attention."

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ECONOMY

Women's Magazines Mix Fashion, Beauty and Now Sports

By ROBIN POGREBIN

YOU can usually tell that you are in the offices of a women's magazine as soon as you walk off the elevator. Racks of clothing crowd the corridors, waiting to be photographed for a fashion spread. The smell of baking from test kitchens clashes with the scent of perfumes to be featured in the beauty pages.

How startling, then, to enter the midtown Manhattan headquarters of the newest Condé Nast Publications women's magazine the other day and find the hallways filled with helmets — motorcycle helmets, lacrosse helmets, equestrian helmets and bike helmets — and rows of different brands of hiking boots lined up against the wall.

Something unusual seemed to be afoot in the world of women's magazines.

"It's a totally fresh look at how women in America view themselves," said the woman presiding at the scene, Lucy S. Danziger, the editor in chief of Condé Nast Sports for Women, which covers professional as well as participatory sports and arrived on newsstands last week. "Women feel like they're in the driver's seat; they have the ball. We're not knocking on the door asking to play. We're not asking for permission anymore. Sports is a great met-

apbor for all this."

With its new magazine, Condé Nast, the Advance Publications unit that is one of the nation's most successful magazine publishers, has about \$30 million riding on that metaphor. And it is not alone. Time Inc. recently published the second and final test issue of Sports Illustrated Women/Sport, a \$1 million project thus far. And Weider Publications, which publishes titles like Men's Fitness and Shape, has spent \$20 million to start Jump, a life-style magazine for teen-age girls, with an emphasis on athletics.

Viewed against the many other magazines that crowd the women's field, these new publications appear to be up to something revolutionary: focusing on subject matter beyond the typical fare of fashion, beauty and sex. And they are presenting a female esthetic that departs radically from the you-can-never-be-too-thin ideal.

"It's a whole different woman," Gene DeWitt, president of DeWitt Media, a media buying company, said in describing the target audience for the new magazines. "The Cosmo woman is someone whose life, to a large extent, is a function of relationships with men, where this new image is about a woman's own feelings of self-worth."

But if some in the business are rushing to predict that these new magazines will prompt an across-

the-board transformation in women's magazines, long-time publishing executives say pronouncements about breaking ground are premature, and unrealistic.

The industry, after all, remains in thrall to fashion and beauty advertisers. The leading national advertisers for toiletries and cosmetics alone spent \$353 million in women's magazines in the first eight months of this year, according to Competitive Media Reporting. Advertisers for apparel, footwear and accessories spent \$83 million.

And while the sports publications may have created a new category of women's magazines — covering topics from women's boxing to basketball to kung fu fighting — a close look at their content reveals that the old formula also endures.

The new sports magazines have fashion, although the women are wearing sports jerseys and athletic shorts. They have beauty, although the featured products tend toward soaps for use after a workout or mascara that doesn't run in the pool. And they all talk about men, albeit with a sporting motif.

The first issue of Condé Nast Sports for Women includes a feature, "Love Among the Bunkers: What Happened When Our Bachelorette Set Out to Bag Mr. Right at a Stop on the P.G.A. Tour?" by Candace Bushnell, a sex columnist. A question-and-answer column in the first issue of Sports Illustrated Women/Sport asks, "Is it O.K. to have sex before the game?" And the first issue of Jump has an article titled, "What Makes Boys Cringe, Cave and Crumble."

All of which suggests that even in the third decade of the women's movement — after women have ascended in fields like politics, business and publishing, and presumably have a wide range of interests — the magazines that serve them seem intent on remaining basically the same, as interested in recipes, diets, makeovers and blind dates as they were in the 1970's.

"I think the world changes a lot faster than women's magazines," said Sandra Bailey, the editor of Women/Sport.

Magazine executives say this is because women's magazines have no financial incentive to do things differently; the old ways still work. Editors of women's magazines know, for example, that beauty sells even better than fashion, because a lipstick is a less expensive mode of transformation than a sweater.

They know that what moves a cover off a newsstand is a picture of a beautiful woman — making eye contact with the camera — and cover lines that promise quick routes to perfection: "Your Breasts: How to Keep Them Healthy, Smooth and Firm" (Redbook); "Killer Clothes for Body Bumpers" (the teen magazine YM); "Easy Orgasms: How to Make Them Mind-Blowing and a Lot Less Work" (Cosmopolitan); "Fight Winter Fat" (Shape), and "Dinner Party 101: Step-by-Step Recipes for the Insecure Cook" (Good Housekeeping).

Editors also know that while women may complain about the tyranny of unattainable bodies, aspirational images still sell magazines. "The girls on the front of the magazine have to be prettier, something to aspire to," said Lesley Jane Seymour, the editor in chief of YM.

Bonnie Fuller, the editor in chief of Cosmopolitan, said: "I don't think women are buying magazines to look at their next-door neighbors. Women enjoy fantasy. It's genetic."

STILL, there are reasons to question whether traditional magazines are meeting women's needs. Subscription and newsstand sales across the women's category declined in the first half of this year, compared with the first half of 1996, according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations. Declines in newsstand sales, for example, ranged from 2.2 percent at Glamour to 7.3 percent at Vogue and a bruising 23.2 percent at Woman's Day.

Such losses mirror a downward trend among the women's service magazines, which are known in the business as the seven sisters: Good Housekeeping, Redbook, Family Circle, Woman's Day, McCall's, Better



Lucy S. Danziger, editor in chief of Condé Nast Sports for Women.

Homes and Gardens and The Ladies' Home Journal. The seven have lost about 15 percent of their combined rate base over the last decade, according to Media Week, a trade publication. Industry experts attribute this downturn largely to an overabundance of titles.

Editors of the new magazines trumpet their publications as a refreshing change from business as usual — even, on a grander level, political progress. But far from advancing some brave new vision for women in the 21st century, the industry experts say, the new sports magazines have simply identified a potentially lucrative market and are hoping to cash in.

"It's not a quantum shift; it's just publishers looking for new niches," said Martin S. Walker, a magazine consultant in Manhattan.

Sure enough, 18 advertisers in the first issue of Sports for Women had never bought space in Condé Nast's other 14 publications, said the magazine's publisher, Suzanne M. Grimes.

And Ms. Bailey, the editor of Women/Sport, concedes that her new magazine is primarily looking to make a profit, not a statement. "I don't think any publishing house lets its sense of political correctness guide it," she said.

History does not encourage real risk-taking in the women's field or, for that matter, in any category of magazine publishing. Consider Ms. magazine, which has a circulation of 200,000, and Working Woman (666,000), compared with Good Housekeeping (4.6 million), Seventeen (2.5 million) and Vogue (1.1 million). Ms., Working Woman and Working Mother almost slipped into bankruptcy because of management problems before being acquired last year by the MacDonald Communications Corporation.

Polly Perkins, a former publisher of Bon Appetit magazine, said she tried in vain to drum up interest among publishing companies before starting the magazine Sports Traveler at her own expense last September. "I was not able to convince the corporate world that women's sports was an important issue," Ms. Perkins said. The magazine has since suspended publication, and Ms. Perkins filed suit against Condé Nast accusing it of trademark infringement — saying, essentially, that it stole the idea.

On the other hand, Women's Sports + Fitness magazine, which was founded in 1974, is now riding the new tide of interest: its circulation increased nearly 9 percent in the first half of this year, to 218,000.

SOME feminists say women's magazines cannot afford to venture too far from traditional editorial categories because fashion and beauty advertisers are a publisher's bread and butter. "I can't overstate how inhibiting the advertising structure is to women's magazines," said Gloria Steinem, the feminist writer who helped found the 25-year-old Ms. magazine, which stopped accepting advertising in 1990.

"Women's magazines are more subjected to advertising pressures because they are expected not just to withhold criticism of advertisers but to praise advertisers in editorial features," Ms. Steinem said. "They're serving the advertisers more than they're serving the reader. They like to say it's the same, but it isn't. Women do not need all these little diagrams about how to put on their blush."

Nancy F. Smith, the editor in chief

of Working Woman, disagreed. "The reader makes the ultimate decision," she said. "Six million readers want Cosmo and Better Homes and Gardens." (Actually, about 10 million readers want those magazines; Cosmopolitan's circulation is 2.5 million, and Better Homes is a whopping 7.6 million.)

Many editors say that if a lot of beauty and fashion still occupy their pages, it is because readers want it that way. Indeed, over the last 12 months, readers of women's magazines spent \$52 billion on apparel and about \$4 billion on cosmetics, according to Simmons Market Research Bureau.

"Women still equate how they look with how they feel," said Margery Gladstone, the publisher of Fitness, a Gruner + Jahr magazine.

Myrna Blyth, editor in chief and publishing director of The Ladies' Home Journal, said: "Let's face it, in this world we do want to look our best. We do want to be thin."

WEIDER PUBLICATIONS, however, said it created the magazine Jump on the theory that young women would rather have a larger dose of reality. The motto of the new magazine, which has guaranteed advertisers a circulation of 300,000, is "far girls who dare to be real." The first issue features an article titled, "Every Body's Perfect: How to Love What You've Got."

"Its position and purpose is to fill a void: helping young girls reach a higher level of self-esteem and self-image," said Michael T. Carr, Weider's president and chief executive. "There are all these magazines telling women how to look, how to dress, how to get the boy, and not enough about how to feel good about yourself."

At Condé Nast Sports for Women, which is starting with a guaranteed circulation of 350,000, Ms. Danziger is also trying to send women a different message. "We're not selling insecurities," she said. "We're selling a life style, but not a quick life fix, which I think a lot of women's magazines do."

And the people at Sports Illustrated Women/Sport, which will also guarantee 350,000 subscribers if it goes forward, say they are trying to talk to women about sports the way Sports Illustrated has long spoken to men. "We're going to take women's sports very seriously," said Alvaro J. Saralegui, the general manager of Sports Illustrated, who is in charge of developing new products. "This is not a fitness magazine. If you want to have firmer abs in 10 days, this is not the magazine for you."

The start-ups have been fueled by the convergence of several factors, namely a generation of women who grew up with the benefits of Title IX, the 1972 Federal law that requires equal opportunity for women and girls to play sports in schools that receive Federal funds. Last year, one in three girls participated in high school sports, compared with one in 27 in 1971. In addition, magazines are capitalizing on the excitement over women's achievements in last year's Olympics; the start of the Women's National Basketball Association this summer and the emergence of fresh new professional athletes like Rebecca Lobo in basketball and Martina Hingis and Venus Williams in tennis.

Women's sports, moreover, has grown into a \$20 billion market in this country, including equipment, footwear and apparel (compared with the nearly \$17 billion beauty business and the \$85 billion women's

fashion apparel market), and the National Sporting Goods Association said that figure was conservative. In 1996, women and girls ages 7 and over bought at least \$6 billion worth of athletic footwear, more than half of that market.

"Those are powerful economic numbers," said Ms. Bailey, who will remain Olympics editor at Sports Illustrated until Time Inc. decides whether to give the green light to Women/Sport — probably by the beginning of next year.

Perhaps most notably, the new magazines have set out to redefine beauty and expand the options for what women do with their free time. "You're beautiful even if you're muddy and, by traditional standards, unattractive," Mr. Saralegui said. "Because you're competing. You're in control of your life."

The woman pictured on the cover of Sports for Women is holding a football. The woman on the cover of Women/Sport is kicking a soccer ball. And Jump's cover article, "Playing With the Boys," features five teen-age athletes, all girls, and the sports they play: ice hockey, water polo, wrestling, football and golf.

Several models appearing in the new magazines are sinewy and big-boned. But pecs and perspiration notwithstanding, some worry that these sports magazines are simply substituting one impossible ideal for another. "My concern is what we're still going to end up with is a certain kind of model fitness," said Marcia Ann Gillespie, the editor in chief of Ms. magazine. "Are we going to see the woman bodybuilder? The size 14 athlete? Or is it still going to be the size 6 or the 4 or, in the case of gymnasts, the minus 2?"

Other niche magazines are also trying to address these issues. In February, for example, Julie Lewit-Nirenberg and Nancy Nadler LeWinter, who used to work in mass-market magazines, started a glossy fashion publication called Mode for women size 12 and above; tomorrow it is expected to announce a partnership with Freedom Communications. And last spring, Meredith Publications — which publishes The Ladies' Home Journal and Better Homes and Gardens — introduced More, a magazine aimed at women over age 45.

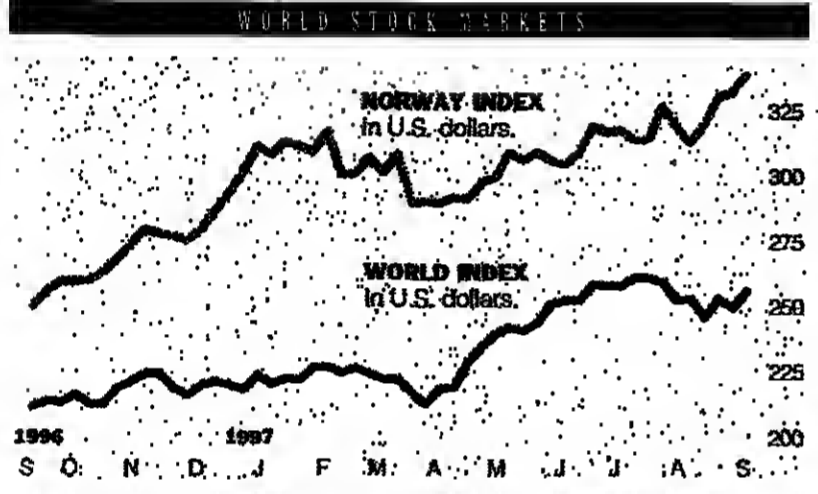
SUPPORTING this new magazine message of self-acceptance, a survey released to advertisers in Manhattan last week found that 84 percent of 1,000 women nationwide were satisfied with the direction of their lives and 53 percent liked their general appearance. "This is kind of a wake-up call that the mood of women is changing," said Madelyn Hochstein, the president of DYQ, the social and marketing research firm that conducted the study with The Ladies' Home Journal. "Women are moving away from the guilt and obsession with weight to a concern about it more in a health context and almost a defiance of the fashion industry that says, 'It's O.K. to be a little bit heavier.'"

Editors of established women's magazines say they assume that the reader they speak to now is more confident, accomplished and multifaceted than the reader of past years. Some editors have published articles about formerly taboo topics like lesbian love and the dangers of cosmetic surgery. Many have regular features on fitness and health as well as national politics and personal finance.

Linda Wells, editor in chief of Allure, a beauty magazine that is six years old, said she had never printed a diet or a step-by-step exercise program. "I find those enormously old-fashioned," she said. "You're saying to the reader, 'Here's what's wrong with you and how to fix it.'"

Nevertheless, Ms. Wells said, women remain "hugely" interested in appearance and clothes. There is no crime in that, she said, or should anyone think that is all women care about.

"The argument gets so simplistic — that if you care about the way you look, you're a bimbo," Ms. Wells said. "We know that's not true. We say to women: 'This is a beauty magazine, and it's not anything else. So read it and get on with your life.'"



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT Indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS IN LOCAL CURR.

Country	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Dividend Yield	Index	YTD % Chg.
Australia	232.16	3.8	11	4.6	19	3.56	214.31	15.3
Austria	201.85	3.1	15	6.3	18	1.77	185.79	22.2
Belgium	245.32	2.5	17	7.7	17	3.09	221.15	24.0
Brazil	278.63	4.1	8	46.9	2	1.32	560.87	54.8
Britain	317.55	3.5	12	12.1	14	3.40	292.65	19.2
Canada	223.52	3.9	10	17.7	11	1.67	224.86	19.3
Denmark	392.36	2.0	18	11.5	15	1.52	359.83	27.4
Finland	311.02	4.0	9	26.6	6	1.59	344.97	45.2
France	236.38	4.8	3	10.4	16	2.39	220.63	26.4
Germany	225.17	4.3	7	18.5	10	1.38	207.35	36.2
Hong Kong	506.82	-0.6	22	-0.0	22	3.08	503.72	0.0
Indonesia	148.88	-4.0	26	-34.8	25	2.38	272.89	-17.5
Ireland	369.03	0.2	20	12.2	13	2.82	349.37	27.6
Italy	108.79	6.6	1	30.3	4	1.69	140.39	48.1
Japan	118.45	-1.0	23	-8.2	23	0.87	91.20	-3.7
Malaysia	312.87	-10.2	28	-48.1	26	1.97	364.44	-37.9
Mexico	1,798.69	4.7	4	47.5	1	1.47	15,258.77	45.3
Netherlands	407.53	3.4	13	21.2	7	2.25	370.96	39.8
New Zealand	91.88	4.5	6	0.1	21	3.96	76.96	11.6
Norway	342.93	2.0	19	16.0	12	1.63	335.51	31.0
Philippines	100.43	-6.9	27	-50.7	27	1.26	187.92	-37.1
Singapore	305.55	-3.7	25	-27.2	24	1.48	213.67	-21.0
South Africa	328.37	-0.4	21	3.1	20	2.54	335.96	3.2
Spain	264.66	4.6	5	20.4	9	2.19	299.45	38.3
Sweden	510.00	3.3	14	20.9	8	1.80	573.91	34.6
Switzerland	311.32	6.3	2	30.5	3	1.18	281.31	41.6
Thailand	38.81	-3.5	24	-59.5	28	5.04	55.73	-41.5
United States	386.84	2.8	16	28.2	5	1.60	386.84	28.2

COMPOSITE INDICES

Europe	280.03	4.1	16.9	2.40	264.84	29.5
Pacific Basin	134.73	-0.9	-9.4	1.39	104.80	-4.5
Europe/Pacific	195.37	2.0	4.7	2.00	164.72	13.3
World	259.76	2.5	15.9	1.79	233.82	20.4

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close or 1996 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

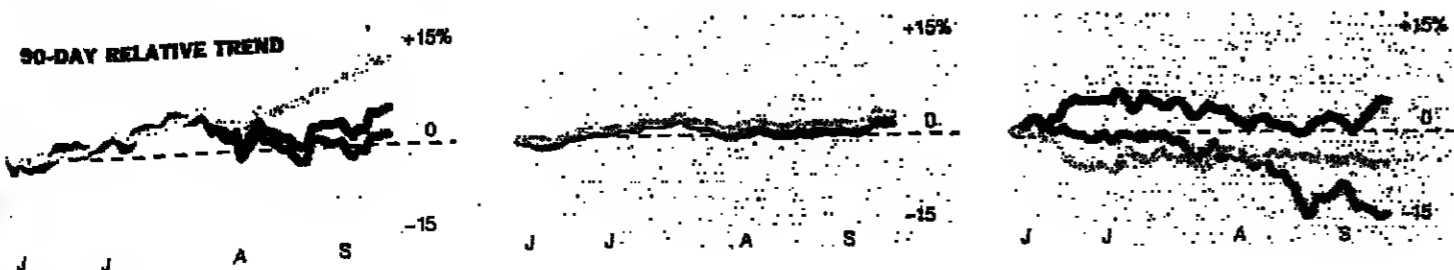
CURRENCIES

Exchange rate	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	122.28	120.96	+1.09	110.01
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.7759	1.7720	+0.22	1.5161
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.3897	1.3925	-0.20	1.3672
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.6124	1.6059	+0.40	1.5556

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets, exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

Sept. 15-19: Bonds Soar as Inflation Fears Recede; Small Stocks and the Dow Rise

PRICES	DOMESTIC EQUITIES	DOMESTIC BONDS	AROUND THE WORLD	BONDS	OTHER INVESTMENTS
Broad market S. & P. 500 index	Up 2.88% 950.51	Treasuries Ryan Labs. Total Return	European stocks F.T.-Actuaries Europe	Long bonds 30-year Treasuries	Money market funds Taxable average
Blue chips Dow 30 industrials	Up 2.25% 7,917.27	Municipals Bond Buyer index	Asian stocks F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	Notes 2-year Treasuries	Bank C.D.'s 1-year small savers
Small capitalization Russell 2000 index	Up 1.61% 447.17	Corporates Merrill Lynch Master Index	Gold New York cash price	Municipals Bond Buyer Index	Stocks S. & P. 500 dividend yield



Sources: Bank Rate Monitor; Bloomberg Financial Markets; The Bond Buyer; Datastream; Goldman, Sachs; IBC's Money Fund Report; Merrill Lynch; Standard & Poor's; Ryan Labs

100 basis points = 1 percentage point	90-DAY RELATIVE TREND	Change in basis points
Domestic Equities	+15%	+80
Domestic Bonds	+15%	+80
Around the World	+15%	+80

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Crunch Time for Campaign Reform

For months, the drive to clean up the American campaign finance system has seemed frozen. Especially insulting has been the cynical argument from politicians who trade access for donations that Americans do not care about reform. But the two leading reformers on Capitol Hill, Senators John McCain of Arizona and Russell Feingold of Wisconsin, believe the cynics are wrong, and they seem to be having some success with a strategy of forcing the Republican leadership to allow a vote on a slimmed-down version of their campaign-finance bill. It would focus on banning the most serious abuses, particularly huge open-ended campaign contributions by rich individuals, corporations and labor unions.

Senators McCain and Feingold believe they have the public backing to play tough with Trent Lott. They threatened to use parliamentary rules to attach their measure to other crucial bills next month and hold up the proceedings in order to get a vote. The pressure seems to be working. On Friday, Mr. Lott, the Senate majority leader, promised to bring the McCain-Feingold bill to the floor before the end of the current session. Democratic leaders denounced his offer as inadequate because it did not set a specific date, but it now appears more certain that campaign finance reform will at least make it to the Senate floor this fall.

This is a crucial moment for Senate Republicans, who have quite properly hammered President Clinton and the Democrats over campaign abuses. Only three Republicans have joined the 45 Democrats in the Senate in favor of the McCain-Feingold bill. More are needed not simply to pass the bill but to thwart a promised filibuster by foes of reform.

For years, Republicans have opposed campaign finance reform because of provisions that limit campaign spending. But now mandatory spending limits have been removed from the legislation, which concentrates instead on ending abuses on the contribution side. Specifically, the bill would ban the big donations that both parties rely on. For all their shock over disclosures of buying access at the White House, in other words, Republicans must now face the fact that their party has been guilty of similar excesses.

Another pretext for opposing reform was removed last week by Senator Fred Thompson of Tennessee, chairman of the committee that has drawn attention to shoddy practices under existing law. Mr. Thompson and Senator John Glenn of Ohio announced Friday that they would accelerate the hearings and finish the bulk of their work soon. That welcome step is sure to anger some Republicans who would rather embarrass Democrats than change the system. The tactic deprives Mr. Lott of the excuse that the hearings must end before the Senate can vote.

The first thing that Mr. Thompson's panel plans to turn to now is the activities of the supposedly independent groups that ran slashing television ad campaigns last year. That makes sense, because banning open-ended contributions to political parties and candidates will do no good if donors simply turn around and give money to these partisan groups. The McCain-Feingold bill addresses the problem by setting limits on contributions to any group that uses the money for ads that mention the name of a candidate within 60 days of an election.

Besides new disclosure requirements, there is one other crucial provision to this bill to watch as the debate proceeds. Right now, it would permit any worker who is not a member of a union but must pay union dues as a condition of employment to get a refund of any portion of the money that has gone to political purposes. Democrats have reluctantly gone along because this feature codifies an employee right that the Supreme Court has upheld. Some Republicans, led by Senator Don Nickles of Oklahoma, want to expand that provision to allow any union member to demand such a refund. That step is adamantly opposed by Democrats and organized labor. Any Republican attempt to attach the Nickles plan to the McCain-Feingold bill should be viewed for what it is: a poison pill designed to kill reform.

The Thompson committee and supporters of the McCain-Feingold bill have built the greatest demand for reform since Watergate. But there are legislators in both parties who want to preserve a system that makes money more important than the public will. In the next few days, Americans need to be watching and taking names.

Ted Turner's Gift

Mayhem, poverty and pestilence overseas, relentlessly chronicled on his Cable News Network, have been good to Ted Turner, so it is nice of him to return the favor. On Thursday he announced what is probably the single largest charitable donation in history, up to \$1 billion in Time Warner stock. This stunning amount should shame his fellow Americans, moguls or not, into giving more.

Just as laudable was his choice to use it for United Nations humanitarian projects that will assist children, refugees, the environment, land-mine clearance and other causes. He stunned the Ivy League universities and art museums that are the charities of choice for the wealthy. Mr. Turner,

believing that charity does not always begin at home, chose instead to help people who are not only powerless and impoverished but foreign and unbelieved in American culture. His gift could multiply itself if others follow him, reversing the drop in philanthropy for causes that help the poor.

Mr. Turner said he did it in part as a challenge to the American Congress, which owes the U.N. more than a billion dollars for unpaid dues. His generosity does indeed underscore the niggardiness of Washington in meeting its international obligations. CNN has been talking about the global village for 17 years now. But Mr. Turner gave new meaning to the term on Thursday night.

Editorial Notebook

Chelsea Clinton Goes to College

STANFORD, Calif. The area around Wilbur Hall looked like an armed camp on Friday morning as Stanford University prepared for the arrival of Chelsea Clinton. The last time I saw so many policemen on campus was a frightening night in 1969 when heavily armed units were summoned to end the violent takeover of an administration building by student protesters. As policemen in riot gear moved into Encina Hall that night, the university lost its innocence. The sunny, sandstone campus was no longer a magical world of learning and jasmine-scented breezes, but a battleground in the American civil conflict over the Vietnam War.

The atmosphere on Friday could not have been more different, with red and white balloons and banners welcoming freshmen to campus and a warm September sun casting a languid spell. Yet the arrival of Ms. Clinton and her parents seemed to me to signal another challenging juncture for Stanford, and more broadly for the country. Can Stanford, the media and the country find a reasonable balance point in their handling of the college education of the daughter of the President of the United States? All the talk out here about treating Chelsea Clinton like any other Stanford freshman is well intentioned but unrealistic. If that is the goal of the White House and the university, it will never be achieved. She is not just another celebrated Stanford student like Tiger Woods, or the daughter of a movie star or powerful corporate executive. Her fame flows from the direct and immediate connection to the political leader of the country and the Commander in Chief of the world's most powerful military force.

The dislocation and security that came with her arrival made the difference clear. Anyone can understand the Clintons' desire to see their daughter off to college, and Stanford was swarming on Friday with cars from dozens of states stuffed with parents, freshmen and stacks of duffel bags, blankets, stereos and computers. But when Chelsea Clinton checked into my old freshman dorm, the parking lots and playing fields around Wilbur Hall looked like the venue for a summit of world leaders.

It might have been a favor to everyone if President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton had stayed home. That certainly would have allowed their daughter to make a more modest entrance, attended perhaps by a handful of Secret Service agents rather than arriving in a Presidential motorcade and trailed by hundreds of reporters and cameramen drawn more by her father than by her. Sharing arrival day with the President and

Can the Nation Avert Its Eyes?

First Lady was a thrill for many students and their parents, but if the long-term goal is to discourage a preoccupation with Chelsea Clinton, the White House should have considered a less flamboyant way of getting her to school.

If Ms. Clinton's presence is not to be a running spectacle, reporters, camera crews, tourists and the rest of the country will have to contain their natural curiosity about her life at Stanford. Her fellow students will probably notice her less than outsiders because she will blend into their community. Nevertheless, given the strong entrepreneurial spirit at Stanford, the university that made Silicon Valley possible, some unkind students may see profit in chronicling her undergraduate days.

But what of the rest of us and our fixation with celebrity and especially the affairs of the First Family? Some interest in Chelsea Clinton is healthy. She is, after all, a thoughtful, well-adjusted teen-ager whose relatively calm White House childhood may be her parents' greatest accomplishment. It is perfectly reasonable for the country to want to get to know her better, perhaps even to see her as a model.

Nor can Stanford be expected to provide the kind of cocoon the White House did. Stanford is not a closed, guarded compound surrounded by a fence and no one would wish it to be. One of its attractions is its expansive campus and open atmosphere. The university will confront itself if it tries to enforce a ban on coverage of Ms. Clinton.

The practical solution seems simple. Let the Secret Service tend to Ms. Clinton's personal security. That is its job and it can do it a lot better than the local police. Let the Stanford community embrace its new member without other artificial constraints. Then, hardest of all, let the media show some self-restraint. It is not inconceivable. Chelsea Clinton was pretty much let alone as she grew up at the White House, the result of a plea for privacy by her parents and a decision by the White House press corps to limit coverage.

Maintaining that much detachment may be difficult now that Ms. Clinton has left the protective world of the White House, but something close to it ought to be possible after this initial blitz of coverage. It might help if the President could find a quieter way to visit his daughter. Perhaps the next time he comes to Stanford he will travel without the usual retinue of aides and with just a pool of White House reporters. Even he might enjoy the tranquility. PHILIP TAUBMAN

Parental Involvement Makes Better Students

To the Editor:

You seem to think a national testing program would somehow allow parents who are otherwise unable to do so to monitor the scholastic performance of their children (editorial, Sept. 15). This seems a dangerous evasion of the more serious underlying educational problem: a lack of attention by parents.

As the child of well-educated parents, I had advantages during my early years in that they cared enough to track my performance. Because they took the time to look over my homework and test grades, they could hardly have failed to notice when I lagged behind.

We do not need more Federal testing programs. We need parents sufficiently concerned to pay attention to whether their children can read, write and do basic math. Five minutes spent talking and listening to my freshman students try to reason through simple arguments is sufficient for me to spot the ones who need help. Why do I seem to be the first to have noticed? CHARLES WAGONER
Cleveland, Miss., Sept. 15, 1997
The writer is an assistant professor of economics at Delta State U.

Teaching the Test

To the Editor:
Your Sept. 15 editorial on the Clinton Administration's proposal for a national test seems a bit idealistic.

Model-Minority Myth Is Unfair to Blacks

To the Editor:
Kingsley R. Browne (letter, Sept. 18) chides the critics of Lino Graglia, a University of Texas law professor who believes that black and Hispanic students cannot compete with whites because they come from cultures in which "failure is not looked upon with disgrace."

Mr. Browne defends Mr. Graglia's comments by pointing to Asian-American academic success; he relies on the divisive myth of the model minority. Historically, the dominant culture has cited Asian-American economic and educational success in order to portray the United States as a nonracist society and to blame blacks and Hispanic and Native Americans (and, by implication, poor whites) for their socioeconomic status.

However, this myth obscures important differences among racial groups, namely, pre-existing economic and educational disparities.

The model-minority myth also conceals the pervasive racism and economic inequality that Asian-Americans suffer. For example, according to the United States Commission on Civil Rights in 1992, Laotians, Hmoos, Cambodians and Vietnamese in the United States had poverty rates of 67 percent, 65 percent, 47 percent and 33 percent, respectively, compared with a poverty rate of 9.6 percent in the general population. DARREN L. HUTCHINSON
Dallas, Sept. 18, 1997
The writer is an assistant professor of law, Southern Methodist University.

Don't Forget Racism

To the Editor:
Re Kingsley R. Browne's Sept. 18 letter defending Prof. Lino Graglia's comments on race: As the African-American son of a police officer and a housewife from Harlem, and as a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, I take issue with the notion of "cultural differences in attitude toward education."

Parents of all groups want their children to achieve to the highest academic level. But for African-Americans, there has been racism to fight every step of the way.

In school there are the negative racial attitudes of teachers and peers. In the work force, I still experience racism and discrimination as an educated man. The battles are wearing, and only the strong-minded will achieve. This is why so many African-American children do not achieve at the same levels as other groups. I view affirmative action not as a way to rectify past wrongs but as an attempt to level the current playing field. LEONARD NETHERSOLE
Cortlandt Manor, N.Y., Sept. 18, 1997

Japanese Sterilizations

To the Editor:
The creativeness of the Japanese in manufacturing does not extend to their bureaucracy when explaining past abuses ("Japan Says Forced Sterilizations Merit No Payments, No Apologies," news article, Sept. 18). The excuse given for the forced sterilizations of 18,000 disabled women over five decades is that the program was legal at the time.

In Nazi Germany it was legal to kill Jews, Gypsies and the disabled. That does not stop the Swiss from returning the money taken from Holocaust victims, which you report the same day. ROY BERCAW
Cambridge, Mass., Sept. 19, 1997

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Those selected may be shortened for space reasons. Fax letters to (212) 556-3622 or send by electronic mail to letters@nytimes.com, or by regular mail to Letters to the Editor, The New York Times, 229 West 43d Street, New York, N.Y. 10036-3959.

The assumption that schools will use test results in a positive way has not proved true. As a student in the Texas public school system, I was subjected to several standardized achievement tests, including the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills. The Legislature established this test for the same reasons the President gives for his national test. You suggest that schools would

riculum is thrown out and sacrificed for the sake of improving test scores. In extreme cases, schools have held pep rallies during class time to promote excitement about the test. The final product is a group of students who are adept at test-taking but not much else. BRENT NONGBRI
Austin, Tex., Sept. 15, 1997

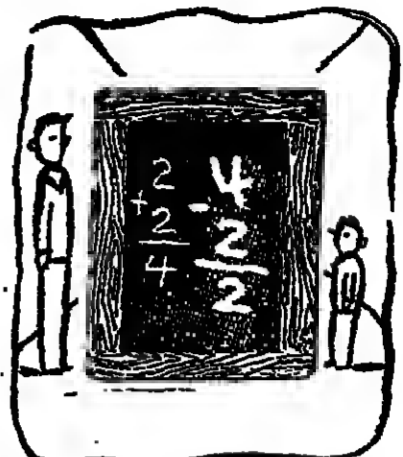
Old Medicine in N.Y.

To the Editor:
The plan of New York State's Education Commissioner, Richard P. Mills, to increase high school graduation requirements seems hard to argue with (news article, Sept. 16). After all, increasing the number of credits for graduation and requiring more study of math, science and foreign language sends a strong message.

The problem with his approach is that it relies on the logic that merely by ratcheting up graduation requirements, learning will be improved. Requiring more seat time does not necessarily make an educational experience more effective. Mr. Mills ignores symptoms showing the old medicine doesn't always work.

His proposals divert attention from issues like the equitable distribution of state money for public schools. E. WAYNE ROSS
Binghamton, N.Y., Sept. 17, 1997

The writer is an associate professor, School of Education and Human Development, SUNY-Binghamton.



Santiago Cohen

"strengthen instructional plans" in response to detailed scores. In Texas, the response of districts with low scores has been to teach the test. They require teachers to start test preparation months in advance. General cur-

Girl Scout Government

To the Editor:
Shelia Heslin, a former White House national security adviser, told Senate investigators that an Energy Department official told her she should not "be such a Girl Scout" in trying to block Roger E. Tamraz, a controversial oilman, from obtaining an audience with President Clinton (front page, Sept. 18).

Girl Scouts are leaders who pledge to serve their country with the highest moral and ethical standards of patriotism, honesty, service, courage and respect of self and others. Maybe if being a Girl Scout were a requirement for high-level Government positions, then we wouldn't have to worry so much about corruption. MARGIE JOY WALDEN
Forest Hills, Queens, Sept. 18, 1997

Magnetism of Mars

To the Editor:
Contrary to the claim that life could not survive on a planet without the protection of a magnetic field (similar to the one on Earth (news article, Sept. 18), whatever life may exist on Mars would have evolved to meet the environmental conditions on that planet, not the ones on Earth. The paucity of life on Mars is more likely a result of the absence of liquid water than a weak magnetic field.

Additionally, there is no significance in the Martian polarity's being similar to Earth's. Our magnetic field weakens whenever Earth's polarity reverses every few hundred thousand years. The fossil record shows that some organisms respond to profound magnetic variations, but many do not. The paleomagnetic history of Mars will not be known until the remnant magnetism of Martian rocks has been analyzed. JULIAN KANE
Great Neck, N.Y., Sept. 19, 1997
The writer is a professor of geology at Hofstra University.

Why Religious Rights?

To the Editor:
A. M. Rosenthal (column, Sept. 16) does not address all the issues in the debate over the legislation to establish an Office of Religious Persecution Monitoring in the White House. First, if the American people and their elected officials are so concerned with religious persecution in other countries, why can't the existing structure monitor such activities? This activity would seem to be the purview of the State Department and the foreign relations committees.

Second, the elevation of religious rights to such a prominent position in the Government's agenda might suggest that the United States values some human rights over others. Presumably, persecution based on race, sex and sexual orientation would not be protested to the same degree as religious rights. If we are serious about human rights and a special office is required to monitor them, then why not create an Office of Human Rights Violation Monitoring? SAMUEL P. DEL PROPOST
New York, Sept. 19, 1997

Bold Change at Chicago

To the Editor:
Your Sept. 17 Education page article on the closing of the University of Chicago's department of education effectively captures the different views of that decision and how it grew out of past developments in educational research here and elsewhere.

There is also a forward-looking perspective. The faculty at Chicago voted to close the department because they believed that it was not working well and alternatives had to be sought. It was not a decision to abandon educational research but to refocus it in the departments of sociology, economics, psychology and anthropology, where the most challenging and rigorous social science studies of education will be produced, as they have been here at Chicago over the past two decades. RICHARD P. SALLER
Dean, Social Sciences Division
University of Chicago
Chicago, Sept. 18, 1997

'Sentimental' Concern

To the Editor:
Dean Richard P. Saller of the University of Chicago just doesn't get it (Education page, Sept. 17). "We can't let a sentimental concern for children get in the way of hard scrutiny about whether we are producing quality work," he asserts.

But a moral and ethical commitment to improving education by understanding the issues that shape and constrain educational practice animates the highest quality of work in our field. By implying that a sentimental concern for children either confuses our ability to judge good research or sullies these rigorous standards, he misses this point. MARY E. DRISCOLL
New York, Sept. 17, 1997
The writer is an associate professor of education administration, N.Y.U.

Scholarship Was Fine

To the Editor:
Your Sept. 17 Education page article on the closing of the University of Chicago's department of education understates the role of the university's administration in this decision.

The administration withheld resources from the department and initiated the closure on the grounds that its scholarship was of insufficient quality. Yet the faculty was as productive in research as other departments at Chicago, and 6 of the 15 full-time faculty were members of the National Academy of Education.

Your article blames the faculty for not maintaining close ties to educational practice. Yet much of its research bore directly on difficult problems of practice. If the department needed to work harder to strike a new balance among theory, research and practice, the faculty should have been given more opportunities to do so. AARON M. PALLAS
East Lansing, Mich., Sept. 17, 1997
The writer is a professor of education and sociology, Michigan State U.

Disdain for Marketing

To the Editor:
The closing of the University of Chicago's department of education saddens me, but it doesn't surprise me (Education page, Sept. 17). Yet as an alumna of the university's doctoral program in teacher training in the 1970's, I feel the loss of an important presence in education.

Disdain for marketing, a commercial concept not held in the highest esteem there, may have contributed to the department's low profile. In the 22 years since receiving my doctorate, I never heard a word from the department or, as far as I can recall, received one solicitation from the university's promotional arm.

The best clue to the fall of the house of Dewey may be lodged in a statement made by one of my professors in response to a student's question about intervening more vigorously in the schools: "Might I remind you," he replied, "that the University of Chicago prepares architects, not engineers." LORRAINE E. GRANIERI
Chicago, Sept. 18, 1997

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Someone Else's Fault

Even as a judge was refusing on Friday afternoon to order a runoff in the Democratic mayoral primary, the Board of Elections was doing its best to shirk all responsibility for one of the biggest election debacles in New York City history.

The board is slow and not very competent at its main job, which is counting votes, but it is quick and sure in its grasp of those twin political imperatives, revising the truth and covering one's derriere.

So on Friday afternoon the spokeswoman for the board, Naomi Bernstein, was saying that board officials felt all along that the Sept. 9 primary election was too close to call.

That, she said, is what she told reporters on primary night. According to Ms. Bernstein, "The information we gave them was, 'The way it stands now it is too close to call.'"

It wasn't easy to believe that every newspaper and television reporter assigned to the primary would ignore a pronouncement by the Board of Elections that the race was too close to call, and declare instead that Al Sharpton had forced Ruth Messinger into a runoff. I wondered if Ms. Bernstein had ever read "Pinocchio."

Too close to call. "Those are the words that we used," Ms. Bernstein said.

In other words, it was not the fault of the Board of Elections that an entire city had the rug pulled from under it, believing at first that a runoff would be held, and then, in a shocking, embarrassing and demoralizing reversal, learning that it would not.

"I can only go back to 1948," said Ms. Bernstein, "when Dewey went to bed as President and woke up a loser."

I called Daniel DeFrancesco, the board's executive director. He's a guy who talks with a blunt outer-borough accent, the way the old-timers used to talk at The Daily News. He had a different take. He said the election foul-up resulted from mistakes made by the Police Department and The Associated Press.

According to Mr. DeFrancesco, it wasn't so much the absentee ballots that put Ms. Messinger over the top; it was some 3,000 votes for Ms. Messinger that weren't reported on election night.

He explained that poll inspectors write down the returns from each voting machine on sheets of paper that are then handed to someone from the Police Department. "The police

take the return sheets to their precinct and the returns are entered into their computer system," he said. "But it's not tallied by the police. It's sent on to The Associated Press, who tally it, and then feeds it out to the media."

Somehow, he said, about 3,000 votes for Ruth Messinger were not recorded. This was discovered in a recount that occurred the Friday after the election.

He insisted that the undercount was not the fault of Board of Elections workers. "It's not that we found these extra 3,000 votes," he said. "They were always there."

He said the mistakes were made by Police Department employees who were punching the figures into their computers. And, he said, there could have been mistakes in the A.P. tallies. Also, the poll inspectors, temporary

Board of Elections' slippery game.

workers, could have recorded incorrect numbers.

I asked if he thought that 3,000 was a high number of votes to have been overlooked. He said he did.

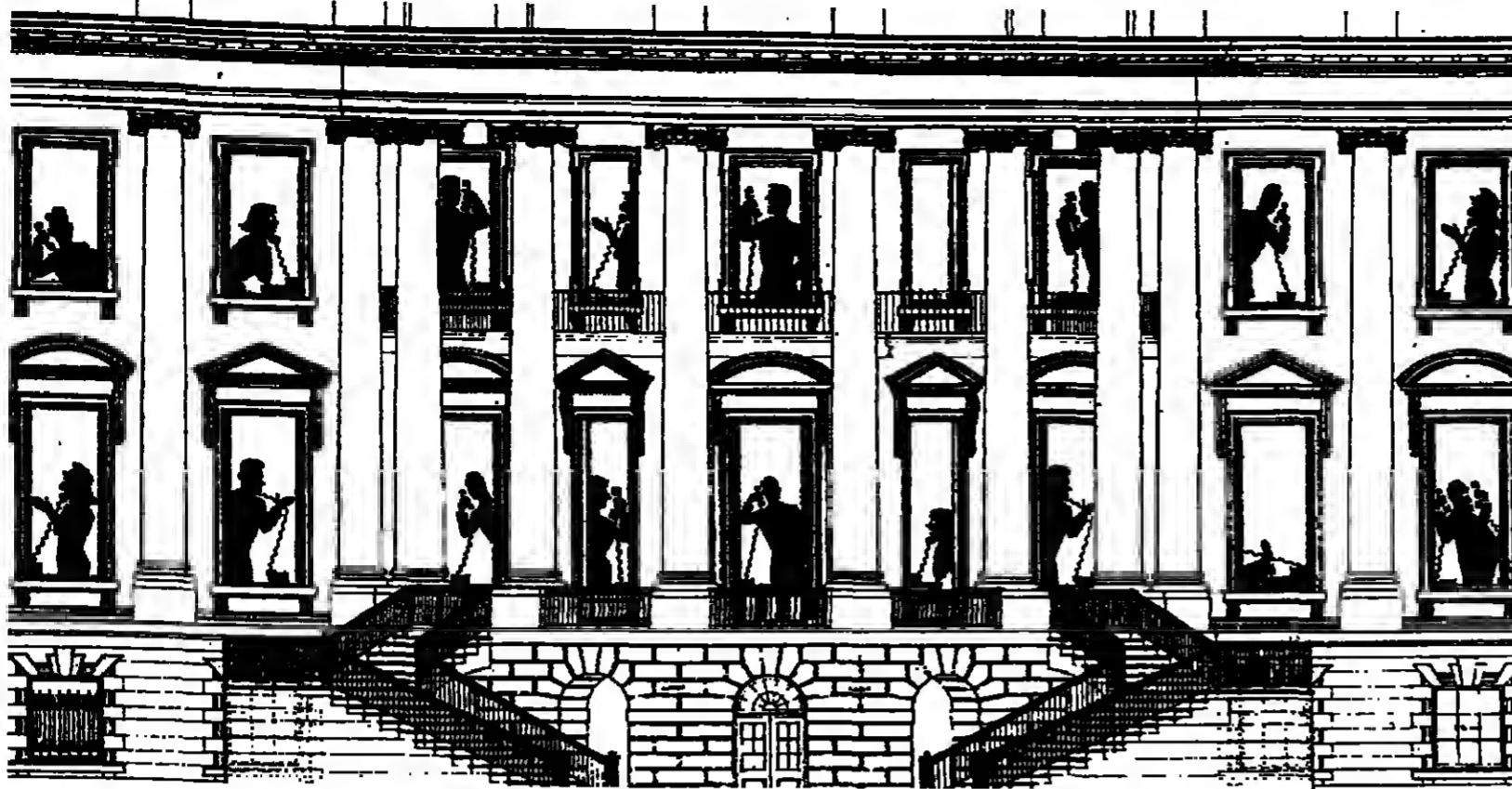
I asked if he was certain the mistakes were made by the police and The Associated Press, and not by his own workers.

"Oh, yeah," he said. "Top police officials were not amused and Mr. DeFrancesco called back to say that he was not 'blaming' anyone. 'The police do a great job,' he said."

"Only in New York," said a spokeswoman for the Police Commissioner, Howard Safir.

Al Sharpton filed a lawsuit asking a Federal judge to order that the runoff be held anyway. The request was denied. But U.S. District Judge Denny Chin could not have been clearer in his placement of blame. He said the Board of Elections had "an obligation to step forward and say this race is too close to call."

Ms. Bernstein's revisionist fantasies and Mr. DeFrancesco's feeble attempt at blaming others have fooled no one. The board botched the handling of the vote count, and in doing so it disgraced itself and seriously undermined the integrity of the election process. □



Don't Make Gore the Fall Guy

By Philip B. Heymann

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. I have publicly supported those who have called for Attorney General Janet Reno to appoint an independent counsel to investigate the campaign donations intended for the 1996 Presidential campaigns.

I have also argued that both the Democratic and Republican parties turned donations intended and used for campaigns, which are strictly regulated, into what looked like unregulated "soft money," not to be used for campaigns, by running it in and out of their national parties.

From a prosecutor's point of view, it would be absurd to reject these arguments and instead decide to single out Vice President Al Gore for investigation by an independent counsel. Making phone calls soliciting donations from a Government office rather than some private location is not an adequate basis for prosecution in this case.

Most prosecutors won't bring a case if three conditions apply: when there are serious doubts about whether a law technically covers the conduct in question, when the main purpose of the statute was not violated, and when the conduct is not inherently immoral. All three conditions apply to the facts of the Gore allegations.

When it comes to whether the law — Section 607 of the Federal Criminal Code — technically applies to Mr. Gore's phone calls, much remains uncertain. It is "unlawful," the section says, "for any person to solicit or receive any contribution . . . in any [Federal Government] room or building occupied in the discharge of official duties."

Fair enough. But to violate the law, must the person solicited be in a Federal building? In the 100 years since the law was enacted, it has never been applied unless the person

solicited was on Federal property.

Must the person solicited be a Federal employee? After all, the main purpose of the statute was to protect Federal employees against being dunned by their bosses. In 1978, the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel concluded that "compelling arguments can be marshaled on either side of this issue." By now, the statute probably also applies to solicitation of non-employees, but the law has never been spelled out.

Does the statute cover the President and the Vice President? The wording specifically includes members of Congress and fails to mention the President and the Vice President, but again, the law is unclear. The Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel has said that there are differences of opinion but that the law probably applies.

One thing is certain: the Vice President's actions were not inconsistent with the only plain purpose of this statute. Section 607 was drafted to protect Federal employees from being coerced into giving money. Since Mr. Gore was soliciting campaign money from outside sources, he did not violate the law's main purpose.

It is almost impossible to think of a reason that would lead anyone to care whether the Vice President made calls from working quarters in the White House (where they may be forbidden) or the living quarters of the White House (where they are permitted) or from some nearby private location or cellular phone.

Of course, in a larger sense, an overriding purpose of many of our campaign finance laws is to prevent the purchase of access and influence. But where Mr. Gore made the phone calls is irrelevant to that purpose. The solicitations are either right or wrong, or either consistent or inconsistent with our statutes, without regard to where they took place.

In sum, it is hard to justify calling for prosecution of Mr. Gore. There is no obvious violation of the purpose of the law or claim on our sense of morality. Even if one tries to justify a prosecution on the grounds that the violation was a willful disregard of Section 607, this provides very little support in a case where so many

uncertainties remain about the law's scope.

So why are so many people calling for prosecution? First, because it would destroy the Democratic front-runner for President. Political figures of both parties have long urged prosecutors to knock off their current or potential opponents. It remains a very bad idea to bend general standards of prosecution either to reach or to avoid political figures.

Second, the Independent Counsel Statute denies the Attorney General the power to exercise even the most obvious of prosecutorial discretion

Why it's wrong to prosecute the Vice President.

unless she is prepared to say that the Justice Department would, as a matter of policy, never bring a prosecution in these circumstances.

But there is a third and final reason. Attorney General Reno has painted herself into a corner. In 1996, access was sold on a scale we haven't seen since 1972. Presidential campaigns solicited money from corporations and unions, which are forbidden to contribute to campaigns. And from individuals, they asked for donations in excess of what they are allowed to give. Hundreds of millions of dollars from these sources was given to the national parties, which then spent it as the Presidential campaigns directed.

This strategy to evade campaign finance laws was so transparent that the Justice Department could easily have dismissed the notion that the donations were given to political parties for noncampaign purposes. That conclusion would have meant that the donations were in violation of the law, and required the appointment of an independent prosecutor to investigate.

But instead, the Justice Department concluded there were no violations and accepted the parties' claims

that they were technically within the law.

Now the Attorney General may find that the Vice President's phone calls from the White House technically violate Section 607, but still do not warrant appointment of an independent counsel. But it would be hard for the Attorney General to explain this decision credibly. Some will ask, if a technicality can be used to protect the President, isn't a technicality enough to prosecute the Vice President?

There is a compelling response to this question. Even if the Vice President's calls violated Section 607, that remains a case that few prosecutors would bring. What does warrant an independent counsel is the thorough evasion of our Federal election laws by dozens of politicians, including both Presidential candidates.

I continue to support calls for an independent counsel to investigate solicitation of donations from forbidden contributors. But Mr. Gore should not be made the scapegoat, simply because the Attorney General has not been willing to appoint an independent prosecutor for these allegations. Besides being unfair, that would simply deflect public attention from the real issue. □

Philip B. Heymann, a former Deputy Attorney General in the Clinton Administration, is a professor at Harvard Law School and the Kennedy School of Government.

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Thompson Takes a Breather

WASHINGTON Why, just as the investigation into Clinton campaign corruption was hitting pay dirt, did Fred Thompson suddenly strike a deal with Democrats to shift the hearings into a softer, gentler discussion of legislative changes?

Consider the momentum building:

1. Venerable Gore, now wisely hiring criminal lawyers, was shown to be fund-raising from Federal property for his own campaign, which forced Janet Reno to shake up Justice's hapless bureaucracy — in hope of evading the law's mandate to seek court appointment of a real prosecutor.

2. Our rogue President, after selling face time to an engaging hustler for \$300,000, was shown to have directed his aide to be "supportive" of the donor at the Energy Department. Mack McLarty swore this attempted fix was merely "seeking information," echoing the words of Sherman Adams to excuse his improper intercession for Bernard Goldfine.

3. One of two Clinton 1992 fund-raisers who became high officials at Energy was shown to be a perjurer. "Somebody's lying," concluded a senator. In that connection —

4. D.N.C. chairman Don Fowler was shown disremembering conversations held with a C.I.A. operative named Bob to help sanitize donor Roger Tamraz. This triggered a C.I.A. Inspector General investigation likely to reveal abuse of authority within the Directorate of Operations.

With all that — plus evidence of China's fund-funneling — what caused Fred Thompson to veer off into legislative la-la land? His reasons:

1. The coming week's hearings were

But he's missing the whole point.

to be Democrats' payback time, and G.O.P. leaders did not want to offer a chance to argue "everybody did it."

2. Thompson thought he was running low on ammunition. The best witnesses — Huang, Middleton, Trie — were taking the Fifth or hiding overseas. Only exposés on tap were the Democrats' ripoff of a Native American tribe and the complicated tale of Gore confidant Peter Knight's delivery of millions in contracts to donor Molten Metal Technology.

3. After a slow start that drew media derision, Thompson reached a level of interest and grudging respect that would be hard to maintain (ain't gonna get no betta); soon the pack's mantra would become "petering out."

4. Thompson believes this is the time for a deep breath; to see if New York U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White's prosecution of teamsters leads to the A.F.L. and the White House's Harold Ickes (whom he will depose again); to press the Freeh-Reno crowd on the Asian connection; and in three weeks, to take another look at his band.

By thus thinking tactically — about how the hearings "play" — Thompson is making a strategic blunder.

A serious Senate investigation has three purposes: first, to use its subpoena power to expose to public view, often in dull detail, the widespread

wrongdoing and potential lawbreaking that corrupted a Presidential election. Next, with the public educated and aroused, to shame the see-no-evil, conflicted Justice Department into action. Purpose three: to propose legislation to make certain future wrongdoing of this kind is prosecutable.

But just when the committee's exposing purpose was getting traction — when front pages and even TV network news shows were paying attention — Chairman Thompson cut away from the chase.

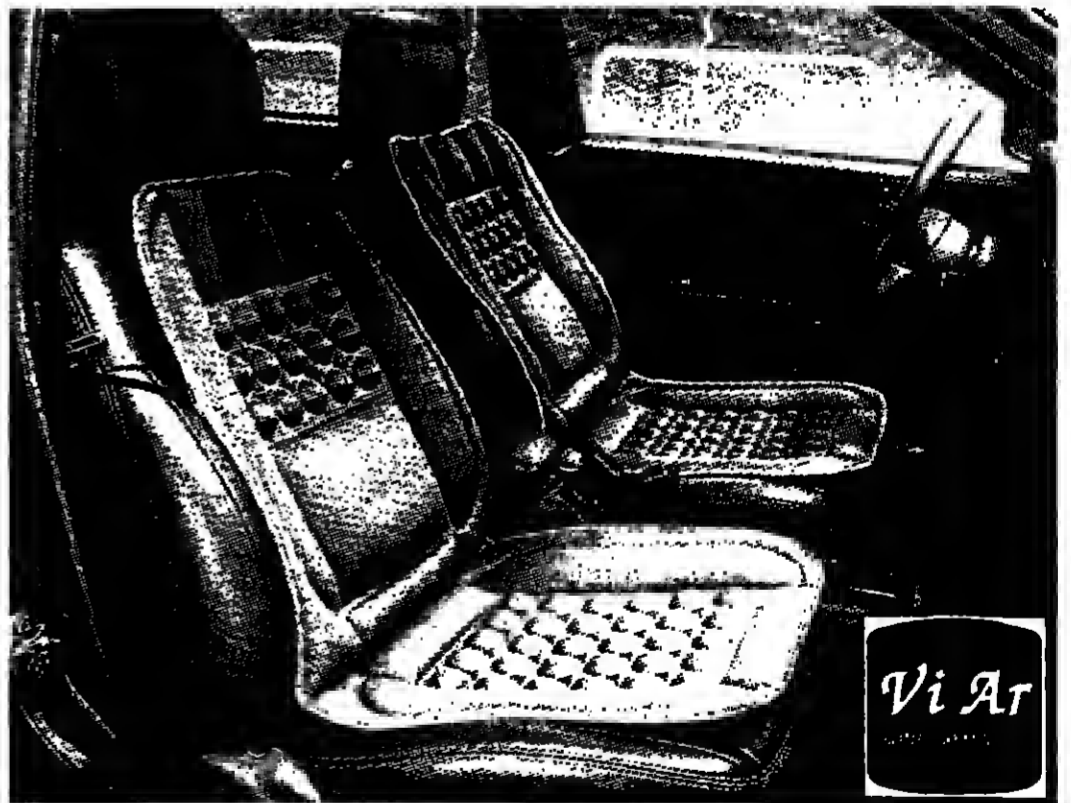
Because he mistakenly thought he was running out of fresh ammunition and running out of time, the Tennessee Senator switched — three months too soon and to the White House's huge relief — to the general legislative purpose. It was part of a deal with Trent Lott to steal a march on the Democrats' domination of campaign finance reform.

With Thompson taking his heavy breather, who will take up the torch? Not Ms. Reno's latest in-house delayer, who spent three years losing to Imelda Marcos.

That leaves it to Intelligence Chairman Richard Shelby, who plans to examine Democratic penetration of the C.I.A., perhaps publicly, as former D.C.I. John Deutch urges; to Dan Burton's House committee, bedeviled by cover-upper Henry Waxman but unencumbered by deadline; to 41-year-old Mary Jo (Death to Drug Smugglers) White; and to slowpoke prosecutor Hickman Ewing Jr., administering water torture to Webster Hubbell.

Too bad about Fred Thompson's wimpout. Hope he catches his breath in time. □

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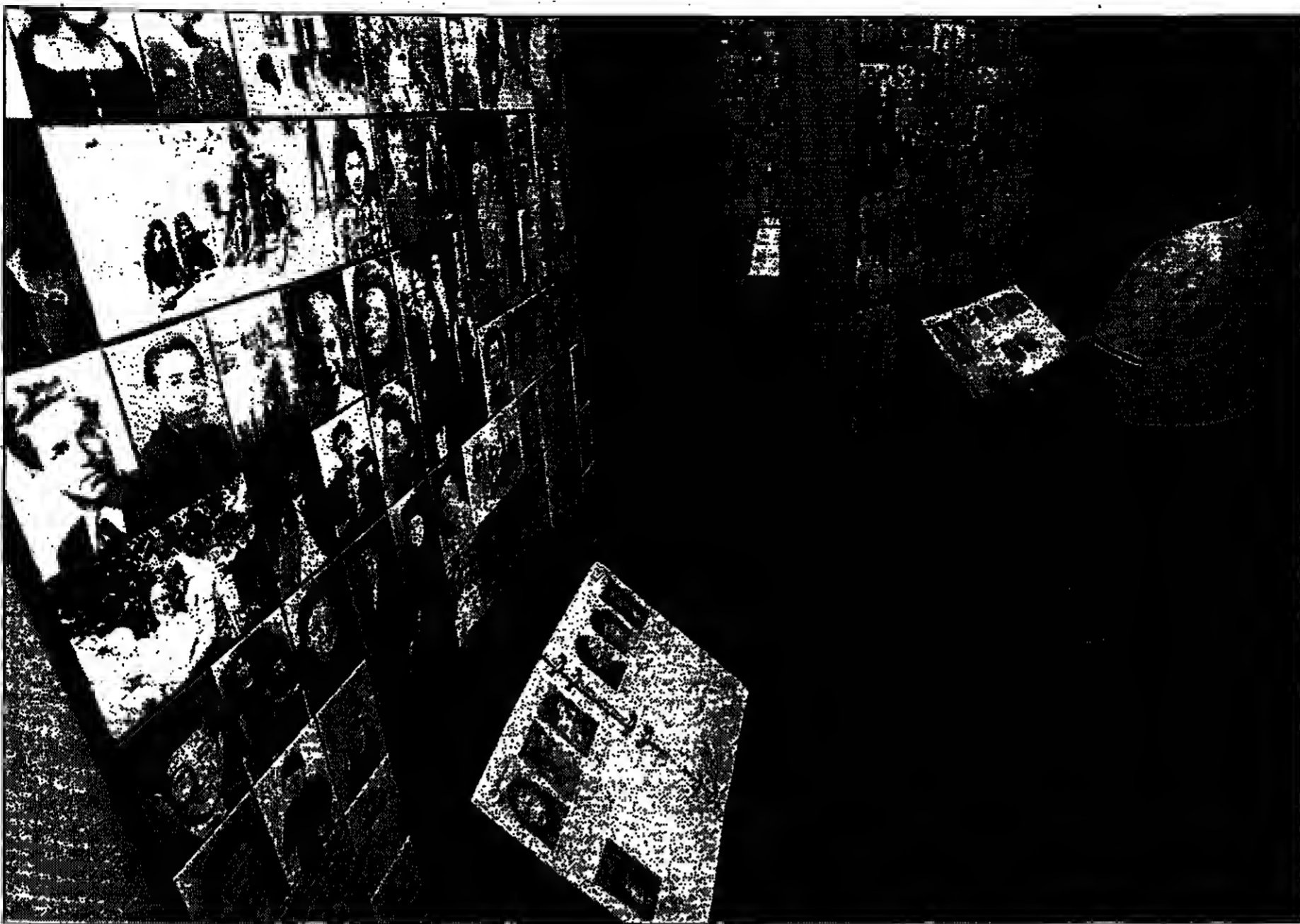
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A woman stops to study photographs of Holocaust victims at New York's Museum of Jewish Heritage.

(Reuters)

Living history – or noisy jumble?

New York's Holocaust museum is a comprehensive celebration of the culture the Nazis couldn't kill

A nonstop assault upon the senses. That's how Marilyn Henry experienced the long-awaited memorial to the Six Million

The blue sports blouse, bearing a large blue-on-white Star of David insignia, exerted a powerful hold on Mary Offentier's youthful heart.

Twice a week in the late 1930s she wore it for after-school gymnastics at the Bar-Kochba sports club in Berlin. "That's where we met; these were our friends," she said. So the blouse stirred memories of friendship and good times.

Later, the suffering of its owner, now Mary Offentier Levinsky, wove far deeper layers of meaning into that frail garment. Though it remains a memento of innocent joy, it has also become a powerful artifact of legislated hate, a poignant relic of the comprehensive antisemitism of the Third Reich.

The blouse is now helping chronicle modern Jewish history at a new Manhattan landmark, called the Museum of Jewish Heritage – A Living Memorial to the Holocaust. Nazi measures gradually squeezed Jews out of flourishing enterprises, such as Heinrich Offentier's clothing company.

"In 1933, already my father had to give up the business, and we had to move to a small apartment," said Levinsky, of New York City. "From then on, everything went down. Before 1933, we had a maid and there were vacations, and we had everything."

Other restrictions affected cultural life, forbidding Jews even to belong to sports clubs and cultural organizations. So the Jews started their own, including the one Mary Offentier joined in 1936, at age eight, when she began wearing the blue blouse. Her club was not just Jewish, but proudly Zionist, named for Shimon Bar-Kochba, the hero of an unsuccessful Jewish revolt against Rome in the second century.

Soon after Kristallnacht, in November 1938, the Offentiers sent Mary and her sister, Hanna, to the safety of Holland. In her small suitcase she had tucked away some reminders of better times. "My most precious possession was the blouse," she said.

LEVINSKY'S blouse is now one of 800 artifacts, along with more than 2,000 photographs and 24 original films in the museum's core exhibit, designed to educate the public about 20th-century Jewish history and the Holocaust.

The building and exhibits cost \$21.5 million. The blue blouse and a photo of the Bar-Kochba sports club will not be the only traces of Mary Levinsky.

Her videotaped image will also appear as part of a documentary on the first floor, where visitors will see and hear her talking about prewar Jewish life in Berlin.

The whole first floor, in fact, will not focus on the catastrophic events of 1939-1945, but on the richness of the European Jewish culture that the Nazis set out to eradicate.

That emphasis on Jewish life, as well as Nazi death-dealing, is the museum's driving force.

"It doesn't mean that we in any way minimize or understate or compartmentalize the story of the catastrophe," said David Altschuler, the director. "But it does mean

that you contextualize that story within a larger story about survival, hope, continuity, culture, civilization, so that it's inhumanity in the context of humanity."

Even on the second floor, where the museum documents the "Final Solution," the museum provides a context of life. The gallery that covers the death camps has two sides. One offers black-and-white images of mass murder. The other displays photographs of death-camp victims, as they looked in family settings, before the Nazis erased their dignity, then their lives.

The third floor focuses on five decades of Jewish life since the Holocaust.

"The story of the survivors is intertwined in the story of the larger Jewish community," Altschuler said.

In comprehensively celebrating Jewish culture, as well as documenting the forces that tried to destroy it, the new museum sets itself apart from the hugely successful US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, which opened in 1993.

The Washington museum does not focus extensively on culture.

"It's really not its purpose," said Deborah Dwork, director of the Center for Holocaust Studies at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts.

"Its purpose is to focus specifically on the history of the Holocaust. That is subject enough," she said.

"It is a totally valid approach, and the approach of the museum in New York is also a valid approach," Dwork said. "But they're different approaches, and there are different ways of looking at this history."

The two institutions also serve two very different cities: the bureaucratic capital that did little to lower barriers to Jewish immigration during the war, and the welcoming city that gave millions of immigrants their first taste of America.

"The setting of New York is right opposite the Statue of Liberty. So, whether one wants to or not, one has to integrate and grapple with the story of American immigration and the story of its relation to the Holocaust," said Michael Berenbaum, who guided the development of the exhibits at the Washington museum and ran its research institute before becoming president of the Shoah Foundation, Steven Spielberg's effort to videotape Holocaust testimonies.

The museum's location, only a short walk from the terminal for boats to the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island, provides a strong marketing advantage and a powerful symbolism.

"It will almost force the visitor to think of those who didn't make it," said Elie Wiesel, Holocaust survivor, author and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, who has provided key leadership to both the Washington and the New York museums. "They were not just statistics. They were human beings."

Altschuler hopes that millions will find inspiration in the museum's powerful exhibits of terrifying hatred, offset by the evidence of the culture that the hatred couldn't kill.

His goal: "I want people to say, 'You know, you will be challenged by this place, but it will renew your faith in humanity. You will come out of this place grounded in an optimism that is not naive, that is not Pollyannish, but that's real.'"

(Newsday)

For some, New York's newest museum is about Jewish continuity. For others, it is about redemption and a celebration of Jewish life. For yet others, it is about memory. All of those may be the blessings and the curse of the Museum of Jewish Heritage – A Living Memorial to the Holocaust. This museum-memorial, so long awaited by the New York Jewish community, in the end seems a noisy, crowded jumble.

The power of some of its segments and ideas is diminished by too many items crammed into too little space; as if, having collected so many personal artifacts and mementos of Jewish life and destruction from survivors, the curators did not have the heart to cull them judiciously.

Spread over three floors in only 2,790 sq. meters, this museum-memorial attempts to illustrate the Jewish experience of the last century. But the organizers seem content with a smorgasbord of all its facets, and the effect seems to lose focus.

The hexagonal museum-memorial, which officially opened in Lower Manhattan last Monday, had grand plans that were truncated by budget cuts in the 16 years it took to build. The budget cuts are reflected in the small space, and the effect is almost claustrophobic.

As a result of the crowding, the museum's most striking – and intimate – aspect, the voices of the survivors, ends up being the most distracting.

The survivors' testimonies, some from Steven Spielberg's Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, appear on video monitors throughout the museum. But the memorial suffers from a technical problem confronting most museums, that of ambient sound, in which sound that is useful in one place becomes inappropriate in another. The survivors' testimonies, in the ubiquitous videos, seem to be competing with each other. No one stops talking. The museum provides virtually no real respite from sound, no place for quiet contemplation.

OF COURSE the testimonies do lead humanity to the documents and artifacts that line the museum's walls. On the second floor, for example, survivors talk about the tightening noose – not by reciting the imposition of discriminatory laws, but by recounting little incidents in their increasingly terrifying daily lives.

One man recalled that, as a child, of course he liked to play. Suddenly, "instead of playing with me, they called me 'bloody Jew.'"

"Most of the children I knew joined Hitler Youth," one woman said. "They were starting to sing, 'When Jewish blood spurts...'"

Other compelling testimonies recalled the shock, disbelief and impotence as the genocide was occurring. Gerhart Riegner of the World Jewish Congress in Geneva recalled that in August 1942 no one believed him when he sent frantic telegrams warning the West about Hitler's plan for the "Final Solution."

Arthur Hertzberg, the historian, mimicked some of the American Jewish sentiment of the time: "Yes, we heard that things were bad in Europe, but things were always bad for Jews in Europe. That's why Mama came here."

The only way to help the Jews of Europe was to join the Allies, said Reuvie Dafni of Tel Aviv, who served as a parachutist in the British Army. But, he said, "We came too late. Four days after we came, the Germans were already in Hungary."

The third floor – devoted to post-Holocaust Jewish life – is especially jarring. The critic for *The New York Times*, Michael Kimmelman, who commended the museum, said he did not want to "nitpick," but the postwar section "tends toward salesmanship over scholarship." He is not mistaken.

Scenes from the third floor: A photo of a Jewish boy at a Purim party in Virginia, circa 1994, dressed as an Elvis impersonator. Is this cute and sweet, or is it absurd? Videos broadcast interviews, rehashing some of the schisms of Jewish life for those who previously had been fortunate enough to avoid them: why debates about the role – or exclusion – of women in Jewish life, or whether Jews can agree about Judaism.

Multiple screens show clips of "Jewish culture on the world stage" – Lauren Bacall (as the enchanting young seductress, purring, "You know how to whistle, don't you?"; Woody Allen; Barbra Streisand; Steven Spielberg. Is this Jewish culture or Jewish success?

I.B. Singer's wire-bound notebooks, with his illegible scrawl, are mounted near a poster heralding Zero Mostel in *Fiddler on the Roof*. Somehow *Fiddler* – the ostalgie Broadway rendition of Shalom Aleichem's Tevye stories – seems quintessentially American. Jodaica and rather sappy, two floors above a rich attempt to illustrate European Jewish life.

MUSEUMS – historical ones, anyway – cannot ignore their surroundings. The question is whether they embrace them, or challenge them, says Michael Berenbaum, who was instrumental in the development of the US Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, and was director of its research institute until last year, when he became president of Spielberg's foundation.

Are museums built in harmony with the adjacent symbolic territory? What message do they convey? Yad Vashem opens its doors on the hills of Jerusalem, the symbol of resistance and redemption. The museum in Washington sits among the institutions of American power and authority. It deals with what Berenbaum calls "the dark side of what is celebrated in that [Washington] neighborhood. We showed what happened when democracy and science are detached from all canons of humanity."

The New York museum, in Battery Park, is located at the heart of power, near Wall Street, the World Trade Center and the federal courts. On the waterfront overlooking the harbor and Ellis Island, the museum has to contend with the American immigration experience – one that closed its doors to the threatened Jews of Europe, but then admitted survivors.

When visitors emerge at the end of the exhibit, the museum's only windows frame – and seem to celebrate – the Statue of Liberty.

That symbolism seems too conciliatory for one who has lingered in an alcove on the second floor, where photo albums, newsreels and interviews forcefully tell the story of the ill-fated *St. Louis*. Carrying more than 900 European Jews desperate to flee the Nazis, the liner was refused permission to let its passengers off in Cuba or the US.

One survivor recalled that a father managed to get close to the *St. Louis*, where his wife and five-year-old son were on board. Bobbing on a small boat in Havana harbor, he screamed in vain to his petrified wife: "Throw him over, throw him over. At least I'll have him!"

The far side of peace

So, Mr. Palestinian Leader, show us the peace process? Terrible. Why we had to choose these Jews as our enemies I don't know. Killing, killing, killing, ya'ani, that is all they know to do.

But sir, the terrorism... Yes, the terrorism. Vicious Jewish policemen raping innocent Palestinian girls, entire innocent villages full of innocent pregnant Palestinian women and tiny children annihilated. And the Israelis won't buy our vegetables.

Don't you call suicide bombers killing shoppers in the souk and on Ben-Yehuda "terrorism"?

facts, which are sold to buy expensive cars for your ministers. It is a known fact. I see. Your justice minister, Abu Madein, was quoted as saying: "Five Jewish Zionists are running the Middle East policies of America: Madeleine Albright, William Cohen, Dennis Ross, Aaron Miller, and Martin Indyk. It's inconceivable that the American people couldn't find anybody but five Jewish Zionists to make peace with the Palestinians."

My question is, sir, couldn't that be construed as impolite to the American people? Do you deny the facts? You people always deny the facts, that's why the world thinks we are a gang of terrorists. Tell me these five people are in reality Palestinians and I will apologize.

Not Page One



Sam Orbaum

The PA's radio station, The Voice of Palestine, has upset some Israelis. I am sorry the truth upsets them.

Then is it true that the GSS distributes chewing gum that increases the sexual drive of Palestinian women? That it infiltrates prostitutes armed with AIDS?

Sexual depravity is at the heart of Zionist theology. A known fact.

The VOP announcer stated during the unrest in Hebron that "the occupiers are shooting children, women and infants. The most recent reports which have arrived to us from Hebron prove that the occupation forces have opened fire on children, women and infants." No men?

The occupation forces are afraid of our brave and courageous men. That is why they prefer to slaughter children, women and infants. A newborn baby suckling at her mother is a safe target for a cowardly brute, wouldn't you say?

What do you say to Israeli claims that such public provocations poison the Palestinian people against peace?

I cannot say that such public provocations poison the Palestinian people against peace. No?

No. I would say it is giving the facts, the undeniable truths, for we are in favor, you know, of freedom of speech and democratic rights as preached by our Palestinian prophet, Jesus.

I see. That doesn't seem to give much hope for peaceful coexistence.

Listen, my good friend, when your Zionist occupiers have given us back our historical rights, our ancient lands, our cherished quest for a tranquil existence in the shade of our vines and fig trees, when you have gone back to New York and Poland to claim your historical rights there and abandoned this futile, impulsive adventure of conquest in our motherland, then and only then will we live in peace and mutual respect, inshallah. You have my word of honor.

Thank you, sir. Most welcome.

Regrettably true. Really?

You would call me a liar? The Palestinian Authority's website refutes any Jewish historical claim to the Western Wall, or that it was even a part of the Temple. The website says that "Some Orthodox religious Jews consider it as a holy place for them... All historic studies and archeological excavations have failed to find proof for such a claim."

Show me proof. You cannot. You expect us to believe your Zionist propagandists and not our own Palestinian scholars?

The website charges that Israel has looted many churches.

True. The persecuted Christian people of the Holy Land every day ask us to protect them. Your Zionist economy is enriched by stolen-holy arti-

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NEWS

of the muse

Wunderkind composer strikes again

Gil Shohat, who has just celebrated his 24th birthday, is celebrating another milestone. His *Song of Songs*, a 45-minute work for chorus, soloists and symphony orchestra, will have its world premiere at the Israel Festival in May. Calling it his "biggest and best work to date," Shohat says he has taken the texts straight from the Bible. "The piece is like a love song," he says. Shohat is the only Israeli – and the youngest musician ever – to be signed by the renowned Italian music publishing house Ricordi. The performers are Avner Biron's Jerusalem Camerata, boosted from 40 to 60 players for the event. The Rheinisches Kantorei from Germany are among those being considered for the choir.

Helen Kaye

Eilat's music festival tickets on sale

Tickets for this winter's Red Sea International Music Festival in Eilat (January 22-25) are already on sale. In last year's highly successful festival, the chorus, orchestra and soloists of the Kirov opera house from St. Petersburg stunned audiences, performing under the riveting guidance of music director Valery Gergiev. Gergiev will be in Eilat once again, this time leading his Kirov forces in a concert performance of Verdi's *Aida* (which had its world premiere more than a century ago, on December 24, 1871, not that far from Eilat – in Cairo). The other major concerts include Mahler's second symphony and a Stravinsky evening featuring the orchestral version of *Les Noces*. Instrumental soloists in the upcoming festival include pianist Alexander Toradze and violinist Yuri Bashmet. Overall, three orchestral concerts and five other musical events (choral, chamber music, etc.) are planned. Individual tickets and packages, comprising hotel rooms and flights, are being offered to the general public. Michael Aizenstadt

Jazzing it up at the Mishkan

They've moved from the Tel Aviv Museum to the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center (*Mishkan* in Hebrew), and New Orleans Jazz, a.k.a. Dixie, is a great way to inaugurate the popular series' new home. Frederick Lonzo Jr., singer and traditional trombonist, starts the six-month program in November. He is followed by trumpeter Nicholas Payton who's been going strong since the '20s; guitarist Steve Masakowski whose last album got four and half stars from *Downbeat* magazine; pianist/composer David Torkanowsky with Matt Perrin on bass and mba; and singer Johnny Adams "with one leg in R&B and the other in jazz." The series ends in May with yet another of the marvelous Marsalis dynasty. He's trombonist Delfeayo Marsalis, whose Dad is pianist Ellis and whose big brothers are trumpeter Wynton and saxophonist Branford. Now *that's* a pedigree.

As always, the artistic director is jazz pianist Danny Gottfried, the concerts will play at TAPAC and the Israel Museum, and tickets range from NIS 378 to NIS 510 for the series, with singles at NIS 85 to NIS 105. Helen Kaye

Bela Lugosi back in circulation

When Bela Lugosi died in 1956 he was buried in his Dracula cape, a fitting shroud for the man whom the vampire made famous – and ruined. Lugosi was so typecast in the role of Dracula in the 1931 film that his talent and versatility were virtually drained in an endless cycle of horror movies. *Dracula* is one of six Lugosi movies, from the 1925 *Midnight Girl* to *Murders in the Rue Morgue* to *Glenn* and *Glenda* made with Ed Wood in 1953. They'll be showing at the Haifa Film Festival from October 16 to 21. Helen Kaye

Fringe at the Center

When Tel Aviv's Fringe Center was inaugurated three years ago, it was with a "let's see" attitude and about a dozen plays. Now entering its fourth season, the Center has a rotating roster of about 30 plays and attracts some 40,000 theater-goers annually. The Center welcomes, publicizes and gives logistical support to existing productions from small, and yes, fringe companies who must be approved by an artistic committee to be admitted. It helps if a show has won prizes or critical acclaim, like Jonathan Tcherchi's searching *Mr. V*; *The Last Chance*, a chamber play by Arthur Miller, or *Hagar*, adapted from A.B. Yehoshua's *Mr. Mani*. But it's not essential. Pushing the envelope is. The shows are being performed at ZOA House and Tzavia. The combined budget is around NIS 1 million. It's theater life like this that would suffer if the Acre Festival dies... Helen Kaye

Storytelling at Succot

Indefatigable raconteur, director and playwright Yossi Alfi is gearing up for the fourth Storytelling Festival to be held in Holon at Succot from October 21 to 25, one day longer than the first three. The Zionist centennial and the state's Jubilee are the engines for this year's festival, so there will be stories and songs about "Why they disbanded the Palmah"; an evening devoted to the exploits of the IDF's elite units; stories about "The Man, Ben-Gurion"; a salute to humorist Ephraim Kishon (whose columns ran in *The Jerusalem Post* through the '60s); and stories about famous manhunters, amusing anecdotes from the courthouse, and much more. Helen Kaye

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TAKING SIDES

October 7 at 8:30 p.m. at ZOA House
Flehow Daniel Frisch (son of Ibn Gabirol)
Ronald Harwood's smash hit (London and New York) about Wilhelm Furtwängler, one of the most outstanding conductors of his generation, who was brought before the American Tribunal in Berlin in 1946 accused of serving Nazism. He was later acquitted, but forever stigmatized for his belief in the supremacy of art over politics. This may or may not have been justified. It all depends on the side you take.

MURDER

A New Play by Hanoch Levin
October 14 at 8:30 p.m. at ZOA House
Written during the violent events in the aftermath of the controversial opening of the Tunnel in Jerusalem, Murder is a sharp, penetrating, heart-wrenching, merciless look into the human toll exacted by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As murder follows murder, it is the innocent on both sides who are the victims.

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MOVIE REVIEW

Trees company

By ADINA HOFFMAN

Steve Buscemi has crooked teeth, a scrawny build and dirty-looking hair.

Most often typecast in supporting roles as a flunk, a loser or worse (in *Con Air*, his latest film, he played a child molester), he makes no attempt in *Trees Lounge*, his writing/directing/starring debut, to buff or alter his image. If anything, the part he plays here is especially unflattering: Tommy Basilio is a jobless and shifty-eyed Long Island local who spends most of his time at a rundown neighborhood bar, the Trees Lounge, drinking himself into a stupor. Buscemi's first turn as leading man may not be pretty, but it is true, an unusually honest and strangely moving portrayal of a complete screw-up. And in an upside-down way, Tommy sets the standard for the whole raw yet powerful film. Set and shot in the director's own home town, Valley Stream, the movie offers one of the most sadly accurate portraits of middle American disconnection and drift that I've seen in years. The film's depiction of working-class bar culture in particular seems incredibly real.

The distractedly friendly chit-chat of the middle-aged, thickly

TREES LOUNGE

Written and directed by Steve Buscemi. Hebrew title: *Hapuh shel hashkhanah*, 94 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children. With Steve Buscemi, Carol Kane, Anthony LaPaglia, Michael Balaban, Elizabeth Bracco, Daniel Baldwin, Debi Mazar, Seymour Cassel and Samuel L. Jackson

lipsticked bartender (Carol Kane) and opsy regulars – an obese man, an old woman in a house dress, and another man who sits, rarely speaking, just staring straight ahead and sipping occasionally – has the unadorned ring of documentary footage, and a natural, almost accidental theatricality. The smutted or "cute" alcoholism of, say, *Cheers*, is entirely absent here, and in its place comes something much bleaker and rougher.

Buscemi's acting has made him especially alert to the stagey rhythms of everyday life, and he works wonders as a writer and director by not embellishing.

Nothing big "happens" for most of the picture, and even when it does (when Seymour Cassel's character dies, for instance, after approximately 30 seconds on screen), life continues, the characters go on about their unremarkable business, and no one is the wiser; indeed, the booze-soaked, blue-collar world Buscemi and his large and talented cast have created feels believably unreflexive. We've grown so used to watching



When he's not behind the wheel, Steve Buscemi spends most of his time getting drunk.

film characters undergo instant on-screen epiphanies that it may come as a bit of a shock (or a let-down, depending on your point of view) to encounter the realistically unimpressible people who frequent the Trees Lounge.

But perhaps it is foolish to generalize about such a sprawling and varied cast. Besides Buscemi, the film features at least a dozen fully realized and sensitively played characters, including a pregnant former girlfriend (Elizabeth Bracco) and her new boyfriend (Anthony LaPaglia), once upon a time, Tommy's best pal, her 17-year-old niece (Chloe Sevigny), who has a dangerous crush on Tommy, and whose mother (Mimi Rogers) and father (Daniel

Baldwin) are his old friends. Mark Boone Junior is another sad-sack bar regular, an unkempt depressive whose wife (Eszter Balint) is disgusted with him and with life in the suburbs, and keeps threatening to leave for the city with their young daughter. Samuel L. Jackson puts in a brief, spirited appearance (as an off-duty mover), as do Debi Mazar (as a flirty drunk girl Tommy tries to pick up at the bar) and Buscemi's real-life brother, Michael (as Tommy's brother, Raymond).

Trees Lounge is certainly an impressive debut, although it's not without problems. The elements of the picture that make it so strong and surprising at first – its casual tempo, meandering structure, and

preference for character over action – also create trouble in the second half. In many ways, the convincing establishment of apparent freedom requires greater directorial control than a conventional, four-square plot, and Buscemi doesn't yet command the medium surely enough to quite pull off that loose ebb-and-flow. The longer the film goes on, the more it threatens to become just as lost and listless as its least impressive characters. (Buscemi himself seems to know this and resorts to some strained melodramatic twists toward the end, to keep things moving.) Still, the film bodes well: of recent attempts by actors to direct, Buscemi's is one of the freshest and broadest in its vision.

'The Best of Communism' returns to Hungary

If your feet tap to the electrifying rhythm of the International or your heart flutters to a diatribe against capitalism by Lenin, there's a CD for you.

The *Best of Communism* CD has these tracks and more.

The compact disc featuring old communist and workers' movement songs and marches is already in Hungarian record shops and is expected to be No. 1 on Hungary's charts soon, said publisher Akos Reihly.

It contains 24 tracks, plus a speech by Lenin. "We couldn't figure out what he was talking about, but he repeated the word 'capitalism' several times, so we assumed he was condemning it," Reihly said.

Reihly, 34, a Hungarian teacher by profession, is also the director of Budapest's communist statue park, where pub-

lic statues of the Soviet regime were taken after the fall of communism.

"There, we also sell posters, sculptures, badges, books of our semi-past, but we haven't had sound tracks so far," he said.

In the new album, there are songs from the Hungarian and international working-class movement, heroic Soviet songs from World War II praising Stalinism, as well as tributes to Hungarian Stalinist leader Matyas Rakosi.

While the statue park is visited by some 25,000 people a year, over 20,000 copies of the CD have been sold in the first three weeks it has been available.

For now, the CD is being sold only in Hungary. But there are plans to market it worldwide on the Internet, Reihly said. (AP)



Naomi Fromovich (left) stars as Antigone, and Aliza Rosen plays the nurse in Anouilh's drama.

The agony of Anouilh's 'Antigone'

By HELEN KAYE

Inevitability pervades the Jerusalem Khan Theatre production of *Antigone*, which opens Wednesday. This is not the play by Sophocles but by French playwright Jean Anouilh.

It's the same story, but the focus has shifted from the sacrilegious to the political. Creon (Doron Tavori), king of Thebes, has forbidden – upon pain of death – the burial of the renegade rebel Polynices. His sister, and Creon's niece, Antigone (Naomi Fromovich) publicly disobeys her uncle. The king must order her death, but the sentence brings catastrophe upon his house.

"The burial, which is central to Sophocles's play, is almost incidental in Anouilh's," says director Gedalia Besser. "The consequences are what counts."

In the Nazi-occupied France of 1944, Anouilh's *Antigone* was perceived as the conflict between the Resistance and Marshal Petain's accommodation with the conqueror.

In the Khan production, "the struggle is starker and the consequences more terrible," says the director.

"On the one hand there's fanaticism and the total inability of rational discourse – or even reciprocal violence – to contain it. On the other, you have the dreadful harshness of political necessity," explains Besser.

Other cast members include Bassam Zuamat as the Chorus, Aliza Rosen as the Nurse, and Tamara Dayan as Antigone's ineffectual sister, Ismene. Tavori also did the translation. The production is designed by Avi Shichvi, with music by Oded Zehavi.

'Children of God': an ode to peace and love

By MICHAEL AIZENSTADT

Yosef Bardanashvili's *Children of God*, a new work for counter-tenor and orchestra commissioned from the Georgian-born Israeli composer by the Ra'anana Symphonette Orchestra, has its premiere this week.

The piece is a sincere plea for peace and tolerance among nations. It is dedicated to the memory of Gady Nots, an Israeli on the verge of becoming a Wall Street tycoon, who was killed in the 1996 TWA plane crash.

Bardanashvili's new opus uses as its source texts of the three monotheistic religions, texts which try to combine cultures which have become separated and alienated over the years. The texts from the Bible, the New Testament and the Koran are universal ones. None of them talk about specific aspects of religion, individuality or separation. Rather, all three call for love, peace, tolerance and understanding among human beings.

The motto of the new work is "Love your friend and neighbor as you would have him love you." Or, to put it another way, "You shall not avenge or retaliate."

Bardanashvili, one of several composers to immigrate recently from the former Soviet Union, had an unsuccessful career in his homeland, writing classical music as well as operas, ballets and music for films and the theater. Now he is reestablishing his career in Israel, and the Symphonette is the first orchestra here to commission a new work from him.

After only two years in Israel Bardanashvili, speaking in quite an impressive Hebrew, says, "Naturally, I am excited and somewhat nervous before the premiere. Each new composition is like a child. You do your best, but you never know how it will turn out."

The composer admits to being a romantic. "I like to write expressive music and I usually write from the heart. I used to write modern music but now I believe music is first and foremost for the soul, for the heart, and not necessarily for the mind and the intellect," he explains.

"But this commission was very specific in content and length," says the composer. "They asked me for a 10-minute piece; I ultimately gave them a 17-minute opus. After the first rehearsal I was 'scolded' for writing such a short piece. I guess it's the best compliment I could have received."

The 49-year-old Bardanashvili has an enormous catalog of works to his credit, including two operas, three ballets, symphonies, string quartets and quintets, piano trios, concert for violin and for guitar, a double concerto for piano and cello, choral music and many songs. He has written music for over 20 films and 40 theater productions. Since immigrating to Israel he has written music for productions at the Haifa Theater and the Cameri Theater (such as *Agape* by Hanoch Levin directed by Robert Sturua).

In his native Georgia, between 1986 and 1991 he was the director of a musical college in Batumi. In 1992-93 he was the cultural vice-minister in Adjara, a Georgian county, where he organized numerous music festivals.

"So why did he emigrate? I wanted to come here for a long time. I was raised in a Zionist home but my father told me that there was no real reason to leave; after all, we had a great life there. I was writing a lot and my music was performed all the time and was heard regularly over the radio."

"However, members of my family have been living in Israel for more than 25 years now; my grandmother is even buried in the Mount of Olives cemetery in Jerusalem. In Georgia I worked for the Jewish Agency – out of devotion, not for a fee. Eventually I persuaded my father and mother to come to Israel with me."

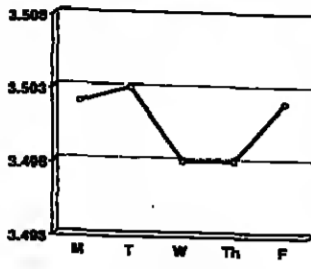
But life in the new land is not so easy, says Bardanashvili. "I feel like a child here; everything is new. But I manage. I have no regular work. But after all, my work is writing music. I hope to have many commissions in the near future."

The Ra'anana Symphonette Orchestra performs the world premiere of Yosef Bardanashvili's *Children of God* for counter-tenor and orchestra with David D'Or under the baton of music director Yuval Zalkouk tonight, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday in Ra'anana.

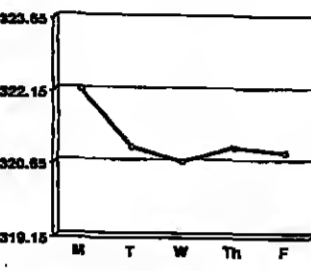
MARKETS

in brief

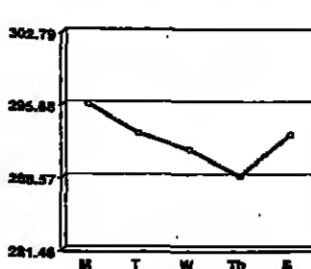
DOLLAR / SHEKEL



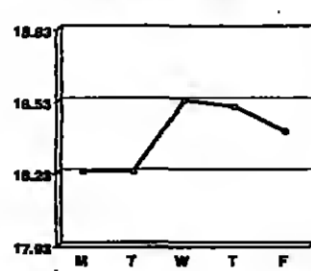
GOLD



MAOF INDEX



OIL



DOLLAR / DEUTSCHEMARK



DOW JONES INDUST. AVG.



Rail travel up 13%

Some four million people traveled by train between January and August, according to figures published by Israel Railways, a 13% rise from the same period last year. *David Harris*

Neeman: Israel will not seek extension of loan guarantees

DAVID HARRIS
and Bloomberg Business News

Israel will not ask for an extension into 1998 of US loan guarantees for government bonds, Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman said in New York over the weekend. Neeman told reporters of his decision while en route to the International Monetary Fund/World Bank annual gathering in Hong Kong. "I don't think, at this stage, we will ask for another loan guarantee, unless something unexpected

happens," Neeman reportedly said. "I cannot confirm or deny that Neeman said this," commented his spokeswoman, Estie Applebaum, whom he did not travel with him. "I will only be able to check this out once I have spoken to him in the early hours tomorrow [Monday]."

Israel still has \$1.5 billion of the initial \$10b. from the US Agency for International Development program agreed in 1992. The guarantees were given in order to aid Israel as hundreds of thousands of new immigrants made their way here from the former Soviet Union.

The US guarantees mean borrowing under the scheme is at a particularly low rate of interest. Only last week Israel sold \$500 million of bonds backed by US government guarantees, at a 6.865 percent interest rate.

The sale was the tenth in the program, which has a "AAA" credit rating. Following that sale, the Finance Ministry said because Israel raised more than it expected from the sale of state-owned assets this year, it will not sell any dollar-denominated debt without US

backing until 1998. Israel had originally planned to raise \$3.3 billion this year. Instead, the country will raise \$2.4 billion, according to the ministry. The announcement was welcomed by former Finance Ministry director-general Ezra Sadan. "Israel should wake up to its real economic maturity and stop utilizing measures that can be harmful," he said. "The problem is not receiving them [the guarantees], but what if we are refused them? If Israel needs money, let's go to the capital markets."

Home Products, ZAG to merge

By JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

ZAG Industries, a Tel Aviv-based home-improvement-goods manufacturer, and Home Products International of Chicago yesterday announced the conclusion of an agreement in principle to merge the two companies.

As a result of the merger, the companies expect 1997 sales to reach \$200 million.

According to the terms of the agreement, each of HPI's common shares will be exchanged for about 1.1 shares of ZAG common stock, which will give ZAG shareholders 52% ownership. The deal is subject to the approval of the shareholders. "Our strength is taking a basic product and finding ways to make it unique and of greater benefit and value to the consumers," said ZAG CEO Zvi Yemini, who will become the chairman of the company.

"By applying this same skill set to the wide variety of products from Home Products International, we will be giving all of our products the quality and competitive advantage necessary to succeed with our important retail partners."

James Tennant, CEO of HPI, will become CEO and president. The company's headquarters will be based in Tel Aviv and Chicago. He said the merger is a "perfect fit."

"You have two firms with very complementary product lines, many of the same customers and a common manufacturing technology," he said. "Putting them together leads both companies one step closer to becoming more important, more valuable partners to our customers."

As part of the company's strategy to increase sales in the US, ZAG/HPI intends to open a new US-based manufacturing and distribution facility early next year.

ZAG manufactures plastic consumer products, including hardware, storage and gardening accessories. The products are sold primarily in home improvement, do-it-yourself and mass merchandise stores around the world.

HPI specializes in making quality home organization and home improvement products that are sold in retail outlets.

The merged company will manage four operating units: ZAG, Tamor, Selfix and Shutters, Inc. Both companies trade on the Nasdaq stock exchange.

Israel, Mexico to sign trade pact by '99

By JENNIFER FRIEDLIN
and news agencies

Israel expects to sign a free-trade agreement with Mexico by 1999, the countries' ministers of industry and trade announced recently.

Minister of Industry and Trade Natan Sharansky was in Mexico last week for trade talks. He is currently in Brazil to meet with his counterpart there.

A free-trade agreement with Mexico would round off Israel's trade agreements, giving local exporters and manufacturers preferred status in all of North America. Sharansky said, Israel has already signed such pacts with the US and Canada.

"Many of the products we manufacture today in Israel could be manufactured through joint investments in Mexico," Sharansky said, at a news conference with Mexico's Minister of Trade and Industrial Development Herminio Blanco, Bloomberg reported.

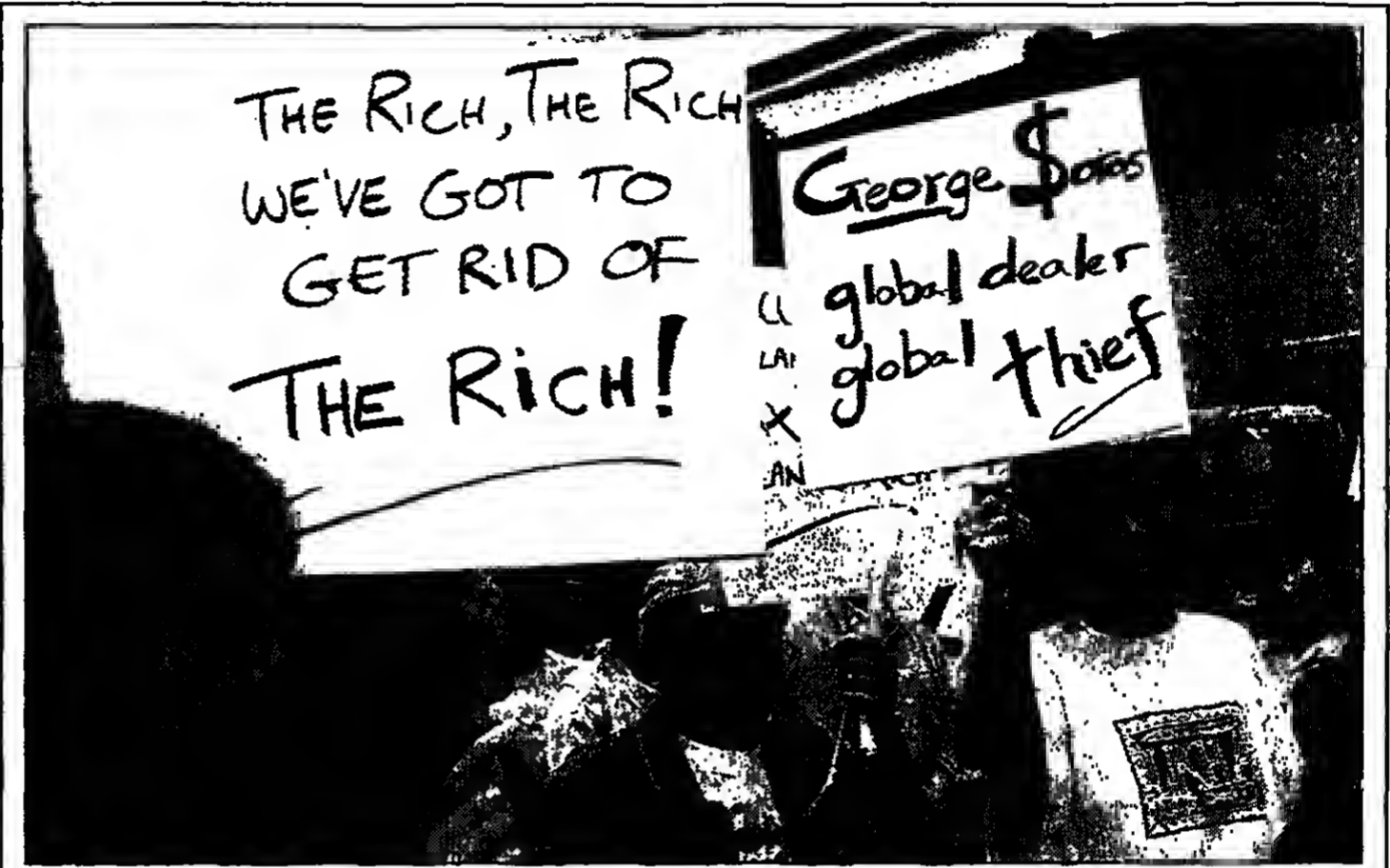
For Mexico, Israel could serve as a springboard to both the Middle East and Eastern Europe, Mexico's trade minister said. Bilateral trade between Mexico and Israel last year totaled about \$90 million.

Israel exported \$80m. worth of chemicals, medicine, electronics and agricultural irrigation equipment to Mexico. Israel bought \$10m. in electric motors and appliances, automobiles, coffee, petroleum, chick peas and pipeline valves, Mexico's Commerce Ministry said.

Mexico could export \$15 million worth of goods to Israel this year, while importing \$60 million worth of Israeli products, Blanco said. He did not explain why he expected the \$15 million drop in trade.

The expected increase in Israeli's annual per capita income, from \$17,000 today to about \$20,000 by the year 2000, should mean more demand for Mexican shoes, clothing, processed food and seafood products, Blanco said.

Mexico is looking to expand its trade blocs, in part to reduce its dependency on US trade.



While the IMF deliberates

A group of Filipino migrant workers hold placards in a protest yesterday outside the IMF-World Bank annual meeting in downtown Hong Kong. The signs accused the wealthy business people inside the Hong Kong Convention Center of failing to pay them adequate wages. (AP)

High-tech company offers expatriates American salaries for returning here

By DAN GERSTENFELD

Athena Software Services, based in Ramat Gan, said yesterday it has approached headhunters in California asking them to locate Israeli computer engineers willing to return here for US-level salaries.

"There is a shortage of 400 to 500 experts in the fields of Java [an Internet programming language], Internet security, and enterprise network design. There is no proportion between the demand for such

people and the local supply," said David Sachs, Athena's executive vice president.

Athena is willing to pay returning Israelis and new immigrants salaries of \$5,000-\$10,000 a month plus rent thru a flat at a luxurious Tel Aviv apartment building in an attempt to attract skilled workers.

The company is looking for 10 qualified professionals who have worked in start-ups in Silicon Valley. "I know that 1,000 to 1,500 Israelis are working there. We think

that if we'll offer them all the basic needs for a successful relocation, some might consider returning," Sachs said.

The local software industry has a shortfall of 4,000-5,000 workers and the Ministry of Industry and Trade predicts that by 2000 the number will be 7,000.

Industry sources said the situation is preventing firms from expanding. In the past, several hi-tech companies considered importing programmers from India. But, India - which

is the main supplier of programmers to the Silicon Valley - is now also suffering a shortfall.

Another possibility was to hire university graduates from Jordan and the Palestinian Authority. Until now, this hasn't been done on a large scale mainly for security reasons, since many software companies get contracts from the army. Experts believe that the problem can be partly solved by granting state support and encouraging students to study computers.

Ministry considers poultry imports

By DAVID HARRIS

The Agriculture Ministry is considering importing poultry, to ensure cheaper prices for consumers, according to ministry Director-General Danny Krichman. Prices are now some 20 percent higher than they were a week ago, ministry spokesman Naphtali

Yaniv said yesterday. "Just before the High Holidays, we know exactly why the prices are rising."

The ministry's attention was drawn to the problem by its own team of researchers, which has detected the increase in prices over the last fortnight.

"The problem is there is no supervision of pricing in the industry," said Yaniv, who added that the ministry is now weighing a number of measures to combat the trend. "We're not saying that we're definitely going to import fowl, but it is one of a number of possibilities."

Israel has only on one or two occasions imported poultry as part of wider agreements with one country or another.

Were there a shortage of hens and other fowl, then matters would be different, according to Yaniv.

"But without a shortage of poultry within the country, this is a downright cheek to charge such expensive, unreasonable prices. We are calling on all producers to think about this before we are forced to take action," he said.

There is also no lack of competition in the industry and consequently prices should be coming down, according to the ministry spokesman.

Farmers did recently fear they would lose millions of shekels when the European Union banned poultry imports, after the outbreak of Newcastle disease in a private chicken coop near Ashkelon.

That problem has been eradicated, with the EU and Agriculture Ministry officials led by Krichman coming to an understanding involving the full reinstatement of Israeli poultry exports to the EU.

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MISHTANIM LEADING ISSUES TRADE ISSUES

Table with columns for company names, prices, and changes. Includes companies like Al Piner Mills, Akeron Int., Africa House, etc.

RETZEF CONTINUOUS TRADING SHARES

Table listing various stocks and their prices, including Agri, Udon, Oron Industries, etc.

KARAM SMALL CAPITALISATION TASE ISSUES

Table listing various stocks and their prices, including ATX Bond A, Abic, Abic, etc.

Large table listing various stocks and their prices, including Ben Yakar Gal, Ben Yakar Warrant 2, Baran, etc.

Large table listing various stocks and their prices, including Noga Insurance, Nofim, Nofim Tech, etc.

TASE rises, led by banks

Israeli stocks rose as investors expressed confidence about corporate profits, particularly the banks, and on assessments the central bank will leave October interest rates unchanged. The Maof Index of 25 stocks gained 1.42 percent to 292.68.

G-7: No need for currency overhaul

The foreign exchange values of the world's major currencies are in no need of dramatic realignment, finance ministers from the Group of Seven major industrialized nations suggested yesterday.

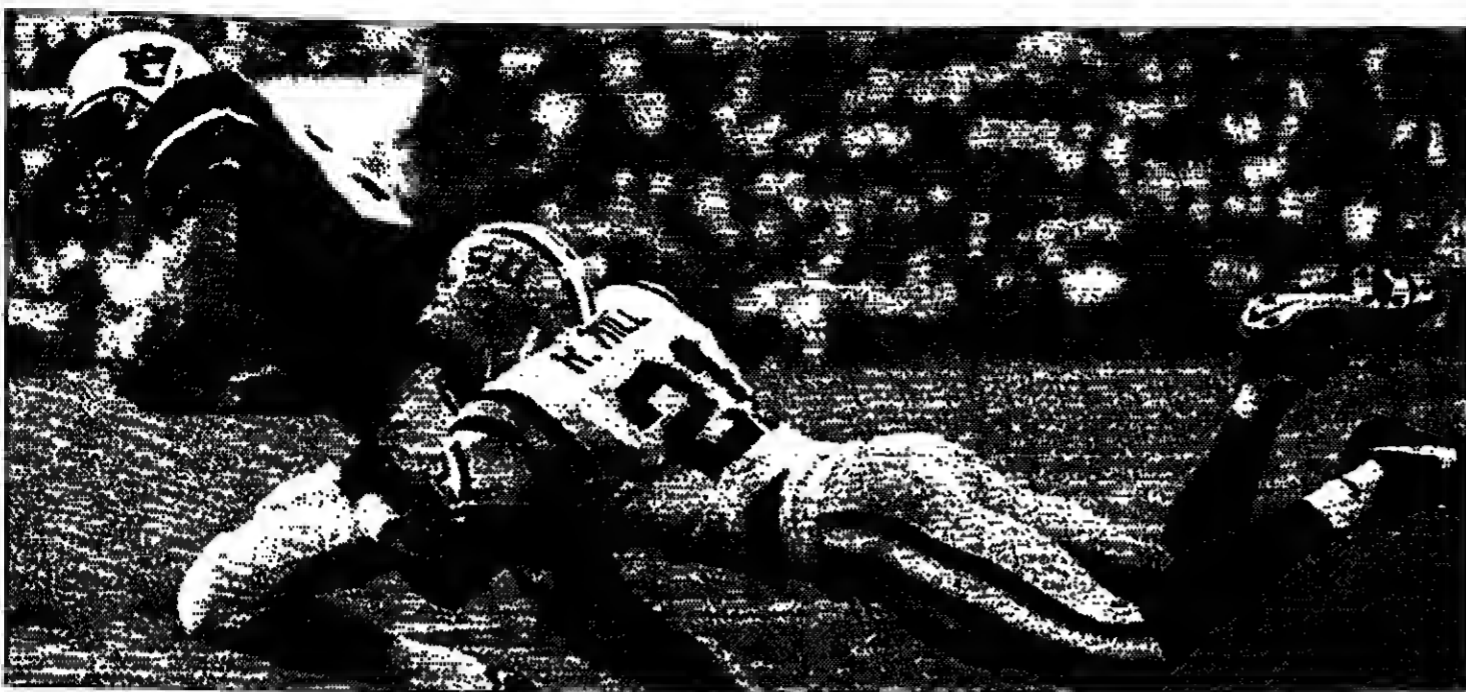
ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Table showing Patah (foreign currency deposit rates) and Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates for various currencies.

GENERAL ASSISTANCE

EMERGENCY PHARMACIES: Jerusalem, Arava, 9 Leib Yaffe, 673-1901; Batsum, Salah E-Din, 627-2315; etc.

Table listing various stocks and their prices, including Woodmen 1, Woodmen 2, etc.



PULLING AWAY - Auburn WR Hicks Poor (1) shakes off LSU defender Raion Hill (21) on a first-quarter reception. Auburn upset No. 10 ranked LSU 31-28.

No. 3 Florida knocks off Vols

NEW YORK (AP) - Florida and Nebraska won their Top 10 showdowns, Alabama was upset again by Arkansas, and Notre Dame lost for the second straight week.

returned it 59 yards for a touchdown before a record crowd of 85,714 at Florida Field.

Cornhuskers defeated No. 2 Washington 27-14.

The Razorbacks (2-1, 1-0 SEC) became the first team to beat Alabama (2-1, 1-1) two straight times in Tuscaloosa since Texas Christian in 1955-56.

Yankees clinch playoffs with 11th-inning win

Braves' Glavine beats Expos on 2-hitter

NEW YORK (AP) - The New York Yankees clinched a playoff spot for the third straight year, beating the Toronto Blue Jays 4-3 in 11 innings Sunday as David Coe pitched five encouraging innings.

Chicago won its fourth straight and evened its record at 77-77.

ground on the Dodgers who also lost Saturday.

the Mets, who will be eliminated from contention for the wild card playoff berth with their next loss or a win by the Marlins.

Coe, sidelined for a month because of tendinitis in his right shoulder, allowed three runs, one of them unearned because of his own throwing error.

Bret Saberhagen pitched five shutout innings in the best start of his comeback.

Host Los Angeles missed its chance to move back into a tie with the first-place Giants by falling to Colorado.

"Our guys are aware of the situation and we did not want to see them clinch in front of us," Mets manager Bobby Valentine said.

Marty Janzen (1-1) forced home the winning run by walking Derek Jeter with the bases loaded in the 11th.

In Minneapolis, Pat Meares homered and LaTroy Hawkins (6-11) held Milwaukee without a hit until the sixth.

Tom Glavine fired a two-hitter as host Atlanta won its sixth straight game to reduce its magic number for clinching an unprecedented sixth consecutive division title to two.

Derek Bell singled to lead off the fourth and Bagwell followed with his 42nd homer.

Eric Davis, who returned this week after colon cancer surgery, snapped an 0-for-26 slump with two hits and drove in three runs as host Baltimore reduced its magic number for clinching the AL East to three.

Gregg Olson (4-3) pitched one inning for the win and Jeff Montgomery got three outs for his 14th save.

Cal Eldred (13-14) gave up two runs and six hits in six innings with six walks and two hit batters.

St. Louis' Mark McGwire, who hit his 54th home run Friday, went 0-for-3 to remain seven homers shy of tying Roger Maris's single-season mark of 61 with eight games left.

Nomar Garciaparra became the first Boston rookie to reach 200 hits since Johnny Pesky in 1942, but Ozzie Guillen keyed a three-run eighth with a two-run single off Steve Avery (6-7) as the

Estes (18-5) opened the bottom of the first with 11 straight balls and was later rocked by Vaughn, who sent the first pitch from Estes over the left-field wall for a three-run shot and a 4-0 lead.

Brian McRae hit a first-inning grand slam and Brian Bohannon pitched six solid innings as visiting New York staged off elimination and snapped a five-game losing streak.

A near capacity crowd of 38,113 turned out to pay tribute to Sandberg, who was honored in a pre-game ceremony, allowed the winning run to score as Philadelphia rallied for three runs in the ninth inning.

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Houston 000 211 000-4 10 1
Cincinnati 000 001 000-1 5 0

St. Louis 000 000 000-1 6 2
Pittsburgh 210 110 000-40 12 1
Detroit 002 000 012-8 15 0

Philadelphia 000 000 003-3 6 0
Chicago 000 020 000-2 6 2
Boston 000 000 000-0 0 0

San Francisco 000 100 010-2 8 1
San Diego 420 240 000-12 12 1
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San Francisco 000 100 010-2 8 1
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- How the Top 25 college football teams fared
- No. 1 Penn State (3-0) beat Louisville 57-21. Next vs Miami, Oct. 4.
- No. 2 Washington (2-1) lost to No. 7 Nebraska 27-14. Next vs No. 14 Arizona State, Oct. 4.
- No. 3 Florida (3-0) beat No. 4 Tennessee 33-28. Next at Kentucky, Saturday.
- No. 4 Tennessee (2-1) lost to No. 3 Florida 33-28. Next vs Mississippi, Oct. 4.
- No. 5 Florida State (3-0) beat No. 16 Clemson 35-28. Next vs No. 22 Miami, Oct. 4.
- No. 6 North Carolina (3-0) beat Maryland 46-14. Next vs Virginia, Saturday.
- No. 7 Nebraska (2-0) beat No. 2 Washington 27-14. Next vs No. 28 Kansas State, Oct. 1.
- No. 8 Michigan (2-0) beat Baylor 38-3. Next vs North Texas, Saturday.
- No. 9 Ohio State (2-0) beat Arizona 28-28. Next at Missouri, Saturday.
- No. 10 LSU (2-0) lost to No. 12 Auburn 31-28. Next vs Auburn, Saturday.
- No. 11 Arkansas (2-1) lost to Arkansas 17-16. Next vs Southern Mississippi, Saturday.
- No. 12 Auburn (2-0) beat No. 10 LSU 31-28. Next vs Central Florida, Saturday.
- No. 13 Iowa (2-0) beat Iowa State 43-28. Next vs Miami, Saturday.
- No. 14 Arkansas State (2-0) lost to Brigham Young 43-18. Next at Oregon State, Saturday.
- No. 15 Colorado (1-1) did not play. Next: Wyoming, Saturday.
- No. 16 Chattanooga (2-1) lost to No. 5 Florida State 35-28. Next vs Georgia Tech, Saturday.
- No. 17 Michigan State (3-0) beat Wake Forest 22-7. Next vs Minnesota, Oct. 4.
- No. 18 Virginia Tech (3-0) beat Temple 23-12. Next vs Arkansas State, Saturday.
- No. 19 Washington State (3-0) beat Hawaii 35-22. Next vs: Boise State, Saturday.
- No. 20 Kansas State (2-0) did not play. Next vs Bowling Green, Saturday.
- No. 21 Stanford (2-1) beat Oregon State 27-14. Next vs Oregon, Saturday.
- No. 22 Miami (2-1) lost to Pittsburgh 21-17. Thursday. Next: West Virginia, Saturday, Sept. 27.
- No. 23 Colorado State (2-0) lost to Air Force 24-8. Next vs Hawaii, Oct. 4.
- No. 24 UCLA (1-2) lost to Pittsburgh 21-17. Thursday. Next: West Virginia, Saturday, Sept. 27.
- No. 25 Georgia (3-0) beat North Carolina 42-3. Next vs Mississippi State, Oct. 4.

'The Greatest' hosts star-studded boxing tribute

LOUISVILLE (AP) - The Muhammad Ali Tribute to Amateur Boxing on Saturday drew a cadre of famous professional fighters, including the honoree, Evander Holyfield, Ken Norton and Jimmy Ellis. Missing, however, were Mike Tyson, Joe Frazier and George Foreman.



As Ali and Holyfield stood together in the ring, a spokesman for Tyson read a statement from the boxer: "On this wonderful evening, I'm very sorry I could not be with you... I wanted to shake hands with Evander Holyfield so that everyone could see for themselves how badly I feel about what happened in our last fight in Las Vegas."

Adelaide to face St. Kilda in AFL final



MELBOURNE (AP) - Adelaide will play in its first Australian Football League grand final after staging a comeback to edge the Western Bulldogs by two points in an Australian Rules semifinal Saturday.

The Crows will face St. Kilda in next Saturday's final after its 12-21 (93) to 13.13 (91) win.

AMERICAN LEAGUE

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
East Division	77	57	.573	-
Florida	70	64	.524	7
New York	83	72	.535	14 1/2
Montreal	65	79	.457	22
Philadelphia	74	91	.443	33 1/2

Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Baltimore	75	76	.496	-
Pittsburgh	75	80	.484	3 1/2
Cincinnati	71	83	.461	7
St. Louis	71	83	.461	7
Chicago	65	90	.419	13 1/2

West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Francisco	85	70	.546	-
Los Angeles	84	71	.542	1
Colorado	80	75	.516	5
San Diego	74	81	.477	11

NATIONAL LEAGUE

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
East Division	77	57	.573	-
Florida	70	64	.524	7
New York	83	72	.535	14 1/2
Montreal	65	79	.457	22
Philadelphia	74	91	.443	33 1/2

Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Baltimore	75	76	.496	-
Pittsburgh	75	80	.484	3 1/2
Cincinnati	71	83	.461	7
St. Louis	71	83	.461	7
Chicago	65	90	.419	13 1/2

West Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Francisco	85	70	.546	-
Los Angeles	84	71	.542	1
Colorado	80	75	.516	5
San Diego	74	81	.477	11

BATTING - F. Thomas, Chicago, 349; Ramirez, Cleveland, 332; E. Martinez, Seattle, 332; Justice, Cleveland, 331; B. Williams, New York, 324; Green, Texas, 322; Jefferson, Boston, 322.

Arsenal second after thrilling win

LONDON (Reuters) - Nigel Winterburn gave Arsenal a 3-2 win at Chelsea and second place in the Premier League with an outstanding 88th-minute winner in a pulsating London derby yesterday.

Winterburn's goal settled a match which seemed to be heading for a draw after both teams had held the lead and Chelsea had Frank Leboeuf sent off midway through the second half.

Chelsea took the lead after 40 minutes when Uruguyan midfielder Gustavo Poyet hooked home from close range.

Arsenal equalized on the stroke of halftime with Dennis Bergkamp firing past fellow-Dutchman Ed De Goey after a move which involved Frenchman Patrick Vieira and Ian Wright carving open the Chelsea defence.

Bergkamp put Arsenal ahead after 59 minutes when he took advantage of a slip in the Chelsea defense to fire low into De Goey's far corner for his second goal of the match.

But Chelsea were level within a

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
1. Man United	7	5	2	0	10	17	17
2. Arsenal	7	4	3	0	16	15	15
3. Blackburn	7	4	2	1	18	14	14
4. Leicester	7	4	2	1	19	14	14
5. Chelsea	6	4	0	2	19	12	12
6. West Ham	7	3	1	3	10	10	10
7. Liverpool	6	2	3	1	8	6	9
8. Newcastle	4	3	0	1	5	4	9
9. Aston Villa	7	3	0	4	10	9	9
10. Crystal Palace	7	3	0	4	6	8	9
11. Coventry	7	2	3	2	7	10	9
12. Tottenham	7	2	2	3	5	9	8
13. Everton	6	2	1	3	8	10	7
14. Leeds	7	2	1	4	8	11	7
15. Derby	5	2	0	3	5	6	6
16. Bolton	6	1	3	2	5	8	6
17. Barnsley	7	2	0	5	6	17	6
18. Wimbledon	6	1	2	3	6	9	5
19. Sheffield Wed	7	1	2	4	7	15	5
20. Southampton	7	1	1	5	5	11	4

minute when Mark Hughes crossed to Gianfranco Zola who had the easiest of tap-ins.

Chelsea came under pressure after Leboeuf was sent off in the 68th minute, but just when they seemed to have weathered the storm, Winterburn unleashed an unstoppable left-foot shot from the edge of the box for the winner.

Villeneuve wins Austrian GP

SPIELBERG (AP) - Jacques Villeneuve of Canada used a little help from his teammate to draw within a point of Michael Schumacher in the season's drivers' standings after winning the Austrian Grand Prix yesterday. Schumacher was penalized for overtaking Villeneuve's Williams-Renault teammate, Heinz-Harald Frentzen illegally.

In the drivers' standing, Schumacher now has 68 points compared to Villeneuve's 67. Third is now Frentzen with 31 points.

Second in the race was David Coulthard. Third went to Frentzen. It was the 10th career victory for Villeneuve, sixth this year.

Mac TA hoopsters stay undefeated

By ELI GRONER

Maccabi Tel Aviv won the battle of the undefeateds, by rolling over Galil Elyon last night. Meanwhile, Jerusalem took the contest featuring two winless clubs by cruising past Givat Shmuel.

In other action last night, Hapoel Eilat remained the only other perfect club, by turning back Netanya, while Ra'anana, Rishon LeZion and Bnei Herzliya moved over the 500 mark.

Maccabi TA 90, Galil Elyon 76

Maccabi's marksmen were clicking last night, pouring in 12 three pointers (in 22 attempts), breaking open a close contest late in the first half. Doron Sheffer, Derek Sharp and Oded Katsah were the driving forces - and the three leading scorers - in Maccabi's extra-pass set offense.

Maccabi showed just how good it can be, by overcoming a shoddy defensive performance in the game's first quarter before racing to a comfortable victory.

The game started out extremely close; neither squad had a lead larger than three points over the game's opening 12 minutes. However, a Constantin Popa block

and Nadav Henefeld steal initiated a 23-8 spurt that turned a 34-33 deficit into a 56-42 halftime lead.

Sheffer (20 points) explained that "chemistry was the key." Indeed, the 23 team assists are a reflection of the team-oriented offensive mindset that coach Vinko Jelovach has instilled in his club.

Hap J'lem 81, Givat Shmuel 65

H. Waldman (15 points) totally outplayed former teammate Papi Turjeman, who came to Malha as a visitor for the first time last night. Adi Gordon paced Jerusalem with 16 points.

Other scores last night: Hapoel Eilat 80, Maccabi Netanya 67; Maccabi Ra'anana 78, Maccabi Ramat Gan 71; Bnei Herzliya 94, Kiryat Motzkin 81; Maccabi Rishon LeZion 89, Hapoel Holon 65.

	W	L	Pts
Maccabi Tel Aviv	3	0	6
Hapoel Eilat	3	0	6
Galil Elyon	2	1	5
Maccabi Rishon	2	1	5
Bnei Herzliya	2	1	5
Maccabi Ra'anana	2	1	5
Kiryat Motzkin	1	2	4
Ramat Gan	1	2	4
Hapoel Jerusalem	1	2	4
Maccabi Netanya	0	3	3
Givat Shmuel	0	3	3

SCOREBOARD

NFL - Yesterday's early results: New Orleans 35, Detroit 17; Green Bay 38, Minnesota 32; NY Jets 23, Oakland 22; New England 31, Chicago 3; Baltimore 36, Tennessee 10; Kansas City 35, Carolina 14.

GOLF - Greg Turner of New Zealand held off a charging Colin Montgomerie to win the British Masters yesterday. Turner carded a two-under-par 70 to win with a total of 275, 13 under par, after holing a five-foot victory putt at the last.

Sampras sends US into Davis Cup finals



WASHINGTON (AP) - The US, behind the scorching serves of Pete Sampras, eliminated Australia yesterday and is headed to the Davis Cup finals.

Sampras beat US Open champion Patrick Rafter 6-7(6-8), 6-1, 6-1, 6-4 to give the US an insurmountable 3-1 lead in the best-of-5 semifinals. In the dead rubber singles - reduced to best of three - Michael Chang beat Mark Philippoussis 7-6(7-5) 7-6(7-2) to make it a 4-1 win.

The US will travel to Goteborg, Sweden, for the November 28-30 finals. Sweden defeated Italy 4-1 after sweeping Sunday's reverse singles.

Sampras did not face a break point the entire match, did not give up a single point on his serve in the second set, and served seven games to love. He hit 14 aces and had just one double fault in the 2-hour, 19-minute match.

After his winning volley on match point, Sampras raised both hands and hugged captain Tom Gullikson. Sampras and Gullikson then each ran a victory lap with an American flag to the cheers of 7,500 at the FitzGerald Tennis Center.

The US will be playing in the finals for the 59th time and will be seeking its record 32nd title. The US team last won the Davis Cup in 1995, when Sampras led a 3-2 victory over Russia in Moscow.

Rafter made a valiant effort to stay in the match through the first set, saving four break points in the fourth game and winning a titanic tiebreaker with a forehand passing shot on Sampras' serve that gave the Australian set point and had him pumping both fists.

But Rafter's serve-and-volley game began to desert him. He netted many easy forehand volleys and Sampras began hitting return winners against the Australian's usually solid serve. Rafter even had trouble with his toss, at one point kneeling with his head down to regain his composure after two consecutive wayward tosses.

The Americans led 2-0 after Friday's singles when Chang defeated Rafter and Sampras beat Philippoussis. Mark Woodforde and Todd Woodbridge kept the Australians alive with a doubles victory over Sampras and Todd Martin on Saturday.

Sweden 4, Italy 1

Sweden advanced to the Davis Cup finals for the second straight year when Jonas Bjorkman defeated Italy's Renzo Furlan 4-6, 6-4, 6-0, 6-4.

Bjorkman's victory in reverse singles gave Sweden, the most successful Davis Cup nation over the two past decades, an unbeatable 3-1 lead in the best-of-5 series.

Thomas Enqvist beat Omar Camporese 6-3, 6-7(5-7), 6-3 in the last reverse singles, making the final score 4-1.

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Rates are valid until SEPTEMBER 30 1997.

DEADLINES offices: Jerusalem - weekdays: 12 noon the day before publication; for Friday 4 p.m. on Thursday.

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PERSONAL

NEWS

in brief

Attorney Levinson's murderer gets life

Shalom Ovadia was sentenced to life in prison by the Jerusalem District Court yesterday for the August 1994 murder of Jerusalem lawyer Shmuel Levinson. Ovadia, with a long record for theft, admitted to the police that he broke in to Levinson's Rehavia home, but contended that his partner fired the fatal shots. In court, he recanted his confession. *Itim*

Three charged with smuggling cocaine

Three men from Lod and Hod Hasharon were charged yesterday with smuggling 21 kilograms of cocaine into the country from Venezuela by hiding it in fruit cans. Moshe Hajaj, 23, Amos Damari, 30, and Haim Cohen, 25, were remanded until trial. Two other men from Ashdod were charged as pushers and for smuggling up to 6 kg. of cocaine into Israel, and were also remanded. Hanan Razin, 25, of Karmel Yosef, was charged with trying to smuggle in 10 kg. of cocaine via Colombia and Australia. He was arrested at Ben-Gurion Airport on September 9. *Itim*

Gold smuggling ring uncovered

The Customs and VAT Authority has uncovered a ring they believe has been smuggling gold into the country, after customs investigators confiscated a large quantity of gold not stamped by the Israel Standards Institution.

The Jerusalem Magistrate's Court yesterday released Yosef Schwartz of Bnei Brak on NIS 100,000 bail, on suspicion he smuggled gold and was connected to the smuggling network, allegedly run by Baruch Zaituna.

Judge Uri Ben-Dor also barred him from leaving the country for six months, and ordered him to refrain from contacting any other suspects. *Itim*

Haredi women to be trained as social workers

A course to train haredi women as social workers is to be offered this coming academic year by Hebrew University's Paul Baerwald School of Social Work.

The course, which will be offered at Jerusalem's Neveh Yerushalayim seminary, is also sponsored by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. University officials believe the program will be useful in training haredi women to deal with the social problems within the haredi sector, and in promoting coexistence between haredim and secular Israelis.

Requirements for acceptance into the course include a BA from a recognized Israeli or foreign institution. Those interested can call the school's Prof. Uri Aviram at 02-5882205. *Arveh Dean Cohen*

Arts school teachers strike over trip payments

The Secondary School Teachers Association has ordered teachers to strike at Jerusalem's High School for the Arts today, after teachers at the school, under pressure from the school principal and others, yesterday agreed to accompany a class trip, in violation of a ban by the association on teachers accompanying such trips, as part of an ongoing dispute over payment for trip hours. *Arveh Dean Cohen*



Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz salutes demonstrating workers as they protest across from the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem yesterday. (Brian Hendler)

No parking tickets in capital today as sanctions continue

By JUDY SIEGEL and Itim

Disruptions throughout the economy are to continue today, as part of the Histadrut's battle against the government plans for economic reforms. The labor federation is threatening to call a general strike on Wednesday or Thursday, Channel 1 reported last night.

No parking tickets will be written in either Jerusalem or Or Yehuda today, and the capital's municipal inspectors will not work. Some

7,000 Jerusalem municipal employees are to hold information meetings and disrupt other services. Seven thousand Postal Authority workers will begin sanctions, disrupting mail delivery and telegram transmissions.

Sanctions already begun by the workers at the following bodies are to continue: the National Insurance Institute, the Israel Electric Corp., the Public Works Department, the Tadiran service department, the municipalities of Kiryat Shmona and

Or Yehuda, the Mevo'ot Hermon Regional Council, and the Tel Aviv Religious Council, which is refusing to register marriages or divorces.

Workers assemblies and information meetings are to be held in Hatzor, Safed, Peki'in and Nahariya.

Public hospitals in the Jerusalem and southern district will be the target of doctors' sanctions today - a fourth day of protest by the Israel Medical Association against the Treasury's plans to shrink the basket of health services and its failure to

increase doctors' slots in hospitals. Outpatient clinics at Hadassah-University Hospital-Ein Kerem, Hadassah-University Hospital-Mt. Scopus, Shaare Zedek Hospital, and Bikur Holim Hospital in Jerusalem will be shut down today, as will those at Barzilai Hospital in Ashkelon, Soroka in Beersheba, and Josephthal in Eilat. Outpatient clinics at the Einatim psychiatric hospital, the Beersheba Mental Health Center, and the Kfar Shaul psychiatric hospital will be closed today.

Ashkenazi-Sephardi gaps narrow, report

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

The gap in educational achievement between Ashkenazi and Oriental Jews is closing at a steady rate of 2 percent a year, and could be nonexistent by 2015, a Bar-Ilan University researcher found. Dr. Micha Razel of the School of Education found while only 60% of

Ashkenazim and Oriental Jews showed equal levels of achievement, currently the figure is about 90%.

Razel's research, based on nationwide representative samples, also shows that whatever gap remains is no longer socially significant. His study also showed second-generation Israelis did better in school than the first-generation, among both

Ashkenazi and Oriental families. Educational achievement was found to be greater among second-generation Israelis as compared to first-generation Israelis, whether from Ashkenazi or Oriental families.

The diminishing gap can also be seen in the fact that in the past, Education Ministry efforts to help children having trouble in school

focused on integrating Sephardi children into schools with larger Ashkenazi populations, he said.

Today they are focused more on helping children with learning problems be "mainstreamed" into regular schools.

Razel said his research indicates that attempts at bridging ethnic gaps have largely succeeded.

WEATHER

Jerusalem 17-27
Tel Aviv 22-28
Haifa 22-28
Beersheba 19-30
Ashdod 21-30
Safed 18-28
Tiberias 22-34
Golan 18-28
Eilat 24-36

Forecast: A chance of scattered showers. A drop in temperatures.

AROUND THE WORLD

	LOW	HIGH	COND.
Asterdam	04	20	11
Berlin	08	13	17
Buenos Aires	11	21	15
Chicago	09	16	20
Copenhagen	05	11	16
Frankfurt	05	11	16
Geneva	05	11	16
Helsinki	05	11	16
Hong Kong	24	28	77
Jakarta	24	28	77
London	17	21	81
Los Angeles	18	24	71
Madrid	18	24	71
Moscow	05	11	16
Mumbai	24	28	77
New York	10	16	20
Paris	11	17	21
Rome	14	20	24
Sao Paulo	18	24	71
Sydney	13	19	23
Tel Aviv	22	28	77
Toronto	05	11	16
Vancouver	05	11	16
Zurich	05	11	16

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Defense Ministry: Polish missile deal wasn't cancelled

By MARILYN HENRY and Jerusalem Post Staff

The Defense Ministry denied reports that Poland had canceled a multimillion dollar deal with Israel to modernize military helicopters, and said that negotiations were still underway.

The statement came in response to a weekend story in the New York Times which said that a \$700 million contract for missiles and avionics had been shelved because the US was leaning on Warsaw to give the contract to Boeing.

The deal would reportedly include having Elbit modernize 100 Huzar military helicopters, by equipping them with \$500 million worth of antitank missiles, and providing another \$200 million worth of avionics.

A ministry spokesman said that both governments were continuing to negotiate the deal, and that positive results were expected soon. A decision was said to be expected following Poland's parliamentary elections scheduled for today.

Israel had the inside track for modernizing the helicopters, which are based on Poland's Sokol civil helicopters. But Polish opposition leaders and Western envoys challenged the awarding of the contracts to Israel.

According to the Times the United States put pressure against Poland closing the deal with Israel, in hopes that Boeing would win the contract. The Americans reportedly feel that as a member of NATO, Poland should deal with an American firm.

In addition to Boeing, Elbit and Rafael are competing against the European group, Euromissile, which includes France's Ste Nationale Industrielle Aerospatiale and Germany's Daimler-Benz AG Aerospace.

Senior Polish officials told the Times that the government of President Aleksander Kwasniewski had initially leaned toward closing the deal with Israel, out of a desire to improve ties with American Jewish groups. Polish leaders

hoped that Jewish leaders would in turn influence senators to approve Polish membership in NATO.

However, that seemed to be a naive argument, in light of the fact that two Jewish senators serve the state of California, whose economy has been battered by cuts in the American aerospace industry.

Other reports suggested that Warsaw felt indebted to Israel for discussing weapons deals with Poland at a time when Western countries refused to equip former Warsaw Pact states.

Poland's national security adviser, Marek Siwiec, told the Times last week that the Huzar deal was a "big mess."

"Some consider the political argument can be made in favor of Israel, some in favor of the Americans," he said. "From my point of view, it will be a military decision."

Boeing is offering the Hellfire missile, which is described as fully compatible with NATO equipment. Some Polish commentators have said that acquiring missiles from NATO members would smooth Warsaw's entry into the alliance.

According to the Times, the Israelis had an unfair advantage over Boeing, because they were permitted to "fine-tune" their bid for the avionics.

US Ambassador Nicholas Rey and British Ambassador Christopher Hum met with Siwiec and said the expected deal with the Israelis "smelled pretty bad."

Polish opponents of the Israeli bid also called for more formal comparisons to be made with rival offers, including how much work each bidder would provide for Polish factories. In addition, the Polish critics said, Rafael's NT-D anti-tank missile has not been publicly demonstrated under European battlefield conditions. Kwasniewski reportedly said several weeks ago that "before a final decision is made," the equipment should be tested on Polish ground.

Ad raises questions on racism

By GREER FAY CASHMAN

When is a racist slogan not a racist slogan?

When the intention is not to incite, but to reassure.

Tempo is currently running an advertising campaign in haredi neighborhoods and newspapers which states: Tempo is good for every Jewish home.

Asked about the racist connotations in the wording, Tempo advertising manager Nurit Kessler was taken aback.

"The slogan is intended for a particular segment of the population," she explained.

Because haredim are very particular about which kosher supervisory body gives its stamp of approval to food products, and Tempo meets the most stringent kosher criteria, the slogan was conceived as a message of reassurance.

Conceding that under other circumstances the slogan might be perceived as being politically incorrect, Kessler reiterated the considerations which had prompted the wording.

Winning cards

In yesterday's daily Chance drawings, the winning cards were the ace of spades, 9 of hearts, king of diamonds, and king of clubs, and the 10 of spades, 10 of hearts, 9 of diamonds, and 8 of clubs.

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